

Subordination in Chechen with a focus on nominalization

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Abstract

This thesis investigates subordination in Chechen and proposes a comprehensive description of the type of subordination known as *nominalization*, an area currently uninvestigated in descriptions of Chechen grammar. Certain types of subordination, in particular relative clauses, have been discussed in the literature (Komen 2007; Good 2003); however, not all types of subordinate clause have been covered. In this thesis, I aim to give a full account of subordination strategies in Chechen, including all possible types, as well as offering a description of nominalizations. This work fills the gaps in the existing literature on subordination in Chechen and also adds new knowledge in terms of nominalization. As well as contributing to the body of knowledge on Chechen, this study adds to existing descriptive work on nominalization cross-linguistically.

To my parents, my husband and children.

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In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

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I am the only one who is fully responsible for any errors in this thesis.

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Abbreviations

NOM	nominative case	DESID	desiderative
GEN	genitive case	COMPR	comparative
LOC	locative case	PRVB	preverb
ABS	absolutive case	NMLZ	nominalization
DAT	dative case	PL	plural

DISJ	disjunction	CONJ	conjunction
ERG	ergative case	CNVB	converb
PRTC	participle	CAUS	causative
REFL	reflexive	POST	postposition
FUT	future tense	PST	past
INDIC	indicative	PRF	perfect
IMPER	imperative	SG	singular
POL IMPER	polite imperative	IMMED.CNVB	converb immediate
MILD IMPER	mild imperative	POST.CNVB	converb posterior
PRES PROG	present progressive	POSTP.CNVB	converb with a postposition <i>tlah'a</i>
WIT IMPER	witnessed imperfect	TEMP.CNVB	converb temporal
INF	infinitive	ANT.CNVB	converb anterior
CL	noun gender class	COMPR.CNVB	converb comparative
ʔ	glottal stop	DRT.CAUS	direct causative
ⁿ	a suffix that attaches to a verb stem	IDRT.CAUS	indirect causative

Chapter 1. An Overview of the Chechen language

This chapter offers an introduction to the grammar of the Chechen language. It offers a description of early works on Chechen and highlights the areas which have not been investigated. One of these areas is indeed nominalizations; the topic which remains uninvestigated in the descriptions of Chechen grammar, and which will be looked at in this thesis. This work is descriptive in nature aiming at offering a comprehensive description of subordination in Chechen, covering all types of subordinate clause including complement, relative and adverbial clauses. Nominalizations, as a type of complement clause, will also be discussed in the thesis.

1.1 A brief overview of existing literature on Chechen

Early work on Chechen focused primarily on morphology and phonetics (e.g. UsLAR 1888; Shifner 1864; Malsagov 1928-1938 and others). However, the syntactic structure of the language was not studied until 1940, when Yakovlev published his book *Syntaxis chechenskogo literaturnogo yazyka* (*Syntax of the Chechen literary language*), highlighting some theoretical issues in different types of clause-linking strategies, in particular coordination and subordination. Yakovlev published another work named *Morphologiya chechenskogo yazyka* (*Morphology of the Chechen language*) in 1960 in which he provided a systematic description of subject, predicate, adjective and adverb as well as numerals. His works are considered to have made great contribution as they laid the foundation for further description of the grammar of Chechen.

Other major works include Aliroev, Matsyev (1961), Chikobava (1963), Desheriev (1967), Eskhadjiev, Vagapov (1981), Magomedov (2000) and Khalidov (2003), (2004), Timaev,

Ozdoeva, Arsamakova and others. These works can be referred to as traditional grammars, in which Chechen, as well as other languages of the Caucasus, were described from a perspective of comparing them to other – more or less well described – languages, in particular Russian.

With no doubt these and many other researchers made a major contribution to the study of the Chechen language; nevertheless, much remained unexplored especially in the realm of theoretical linguistics. It is only recently that the language has attracted “overseas” linguists, in particular Johanna Nichols (1994a, 1994b, 1997, 2004, 2011) who has published a number of papers on the grammar of Chechen and closely related Ingush, along with the first English-Chechen and Chechen-English dictionary (2003) in cooperation with the Chechen linguist Arbi Vagapov. Other works on Chechen include Good (2003), Jeschull (2004) and Komen (2007, 2011, 2014, 2015).

Although there has been continuous research on Nakh-Dagestanian languages for over a century, they are not well-studied, and many languages and dialects remain undocumented with some being endangered (Ganenkov and Maisak 2021). As Ganenkov and Maisak (2021) point out, ‘although (shorter) grammatical sketches or older traditional grammars are available for most languages of the family, detailed, contemporary grammatical descriptions are lacking for even some major Nakh-Dagestanian languages such as Lak, Chechen, and Avar, let alone smaller languages.’

The lack of a full grammatical description of Chechen has been a concern for many years. This issue has been addressed by a few researchers, in particular Khalidov, Timaev and Ovkhadov who have started working on a descriptive grammar of Chechen. They have conducted research in collaboration with researchers from neighbouring regions such as Georgia, Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria and Ingushetia. The first volume which covers ethnographic issues, phonetics and word formation in Chechen, was published in 2013; the other two volumes on morphology and syntax are yet to appear.

The next section discusses Chechen and two other languages, a closely and distantly related Ingush and Batsbi respectively, which form a larger group of Nakh languages, as well as some of the common typical properties of Nakh-Dagestania languages.

1.2 Introduction to the linguistic affiliation of Chechen

Chechen is an indigenous language which belongs (along with Ingush and Batsbi) to the Nakh branch of the Nakh-Dagestania language family. It is spoken by about 2.5 million native speakers (around 1.3-1.5 million people in the Republic of Chechnya and the rest across the world), making it the largest language in the North Caucasus (Khalidov 2013: 22). As well as neighbouring regions, such as Dagestan, Ingushetia and Georgia, large Chechen diasporas are found in other countries, in particular Jordan, Turkey, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Syria.

Chechens call themselves *нохчи* (nohchi). There is no consensus among researchers on the origins of this name. As Khalidov (2013: 29-30) points out, the word dates back to the VII century where Chechens were mentioned in Armenian scriptures as *нахчаматеанк* (nahchamateank) (*нахч*- 'Chechens', *мат*- 'language', *анк*- plural suffix). In different sources Chechens are referred to by various names, such as Michkiz, Sasan, Shabutyan, Shashan (Arab. Shishan) etc.

Chechen has a number of dialects, the most distinctive of which are Kisti and Akkhi, both spoken outside the Chechen republic. Kistins reside in the Akhmet district of Georgia in a close neighbourhood along with the Batsbi community; Akkhis live in different parts of Dagestan. Both these communities consist of ethnical Chechens, but their language has been influenced by local languages; for Chechens who live in Georgia it is Georgian, for those who live in Dagestan it is Lak, Dagestania and Kumyk.

The Nakh-Dagestania language family includes many languages spoken in the eastern Caucasus, the majority of which are spoken by different minorities located in Dagestan

(Ganenkov and Maisak 2021). There are four major branches which make up the language family, Avar-Andic-Tsezic, Dargwa, Lezgian, Nach, and Lak and Khinalug, two ‘family-level isolates’ representing separate branches. As Ganenkov and Maisak (2021) point out, this division of languages is still under debate among the researchers mainly for the reason of lacking historical reconstructions of Nakh-Dagestania languages. The following figure shows the languages which constitute the Nakh-Dagestania group.

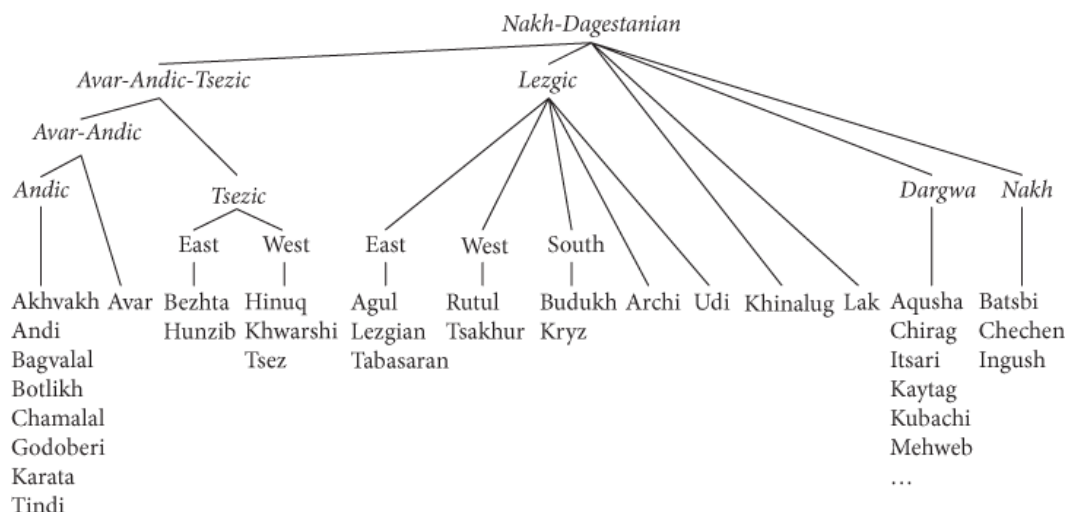


Figure 1. Nakh-Dagestania languages

The languages of the Nakh-Dagestania family share common properties, which are characteristic of these languages, such as rich consonant system, rich case system, gender-number agreement, SOV word order (allowing flexibility ‘to manipulate information structure’) as well as being morphologically ergative and head-final. Causative is the most frequently used construction for valency-changing derivations. The subordination strategies that are typical of this language family include the extensive use of non-finite verbal forms such as infinitives, participles, verbal nouns and converbs (Ganenkov and Maisak 2021).

The Nakh branch includes Chechen, Ingush and Batsbi. Chechen is closely related to Ingush, a language spoken in the neighbouring republic of Ingushetia. The main difference between the two languages lies in their phonology (Nichols 1994a). According to Nichols (2011: 3) these languages are mutually unintelligible. However, based on my linguistic competence (as a native speaker of Chechen) I would not agree with this assertion. Although

there are some discrepancies in the lexicon (many are aware of these) as well as phonological differences, which may result in some communication failures due to misunderstandings, speakers of these two languages can communicate and understand each other to a considerable level. For the speakers of some of the dialects of Chechen (ex. Khimoyn dialect spoken in Avangard and Novotersk villages), it is easier to communicate with and understand the speakers of Ingush in contrast with the speakers of the mainland dialect (a standard form of Chechen used in literature, and the one I use in this thesis). Chechen and Ingush form a *vainax* group. The speakers of these languages call themselves *vainax* ‘our people’ and correspondingly refer to their languages as *vaiⁿ mott* ‘our language’ (Nichols 2004: 131). Almost all Chechens (as well as Ingush) are bilingual in Russian, except for a small number of people who live in rural mountainous areas.

Conversely, another distantly related language of the region, Batsbi, is a distinct language. It is spoken in an area known as Kakhetia in Georgia, where Batsbi people settled between the XVI and XIX centuries, and as a result of prolonged language contact has been much influenced by Georgian (Holisky and Gagua 1994; Khalidov 2013: 28). However, the influence is not such that it is not possible to see the language’s (at least, distant) relationship to Chechen and Ingush (Khalidov 2013: 28). As Nichols (2004: 131) points out, ‘the Batsbi or Tsova-Tush of Georgia, whose language is related to Chechen and Ingush roughly as Czech is related to Russian and Ukrainian, does not belong to *vainax* nor their language to *vaiⁿ mott*, though any speaker of Chechen or Ingush can immediately tell that the language is closely related and can understand some phrases of it’.

Ingush grammar shows striking similarities to the grammar of Chechen with some slight differences. In her work on Ingush grammar, Nichols (2011: 10-11) describes Ingush as ‘a mainly dependent marking’, head-final language having a case system with eight cases marked on nouns and pronouns as well as secondary cases. Noun classes are marked on so-called class verbs which make up a small number of all verbs (Nichols 2011: 10). There are four noun

classes in Ingush, whereas Chechen distinguishes six noun classes. As she further notes, tense system is quite complex, distinguishing a large number of tenses which are combined with eventuality and aspect (Nichols 2011: 10). There is an extensive use of converbs which are found in adverbial subordination and chaining, and nearly no subordinating conjunctions; nominalization and converb clauses are among the main strategies used for complementation and adverbial subordination respectively (Nichols 2011). As we see in later chapters, Chechen also makes extensive use of converbs in adverbial subordination and chaining as well as nominalization, as a strategy to form complement clauses. However, unlike Ingush, Chechen makes use of subordinating conjunctions which are often found in subordinate clauses. Chapter 4 offers the discussion of subordination conjunctions with examples from Chechen. Nichols (2011: 11) gives the following general syntactic description of Ingush:

‘Clause word order is like that of early Germanic: verb-final with frequent verb-second order in main clauses (with prefixes and first elements of compound verbs left in clause-final position). In most kinds of complex sentences the finite clause follows the converb clauses. Where English would use clause or VP coordination with conjunction reduction, Ingush uses chaining and therefore imposes grammatically rigid framework with argument sharing and strict choice of verb forms with sequence of tenses on what would, in English be a much freer matter of juxtaposing or coordinating sentences with the same subject or topic.’

The researchers who work on both languages have claimed that there is a striking difference between Ingush and Chechen in relation to postverbal subjects, i.e. while it is not often the case that subjects follow a finite verb in Chechen, postverbal subjects is a typical phenomenon in Ingush (Komen, Molochieva and Nichols 2021). As it has been estimated by Komen and Bugenhagen (2017), postverbal subjects in Chechen count as one-third of all instances, whereas in Ingush two-thirds of subjects are found in a postverbal position. As they further note, this is particularly true of pronominal subjects of which only a small number occurs post-verbally and

this is only found where the information about a participant has been already known from the previous discourse (Komen and Bugenhagen 2017). However, the data presented in this thesis does not support this claim, and it is shown as we proceed further that subjects occur post-verbally quite often in Chechen, and in fact, OVS word order can often be used interchangeably with the neutral SOV word order.

Both Chechen and Ingush make use of a clause-combining strategy, known as chaining. Although coordination is possible in these languages, clause-chaining is much preferred and is commonly used. As Komen, Molochieva and Nichols (2011) note, as far as semantics concerned, coordinated clauses and chained clauses look very similar, and as the two languages do not have the same clause coordination in the way that European languages have (with finite verbs and conjunctions), chaining can be considered as ‘morphosyntactic encoding of semantic coordination’. It is important to note that chaining should be distinguished from adverbial subordination. This is discussed in more detail in section 2.1.3 on chaining.

In the following section, I give a brief overview of Chechen grammar as well as a description of the grammatical categories of its two major word classes, namely a noun and a verb.

1.3 An overview of Chechen grammar

Chechen is described as having a complex grammatical system; it is rich in inflections that appear on words by means of suffixation (Komen, Nichols and Molochieva 2021). It is a head-final and dependent-marking language, which exemplifies an SOV neutral word order. I discuss the main syntactic properties of the language in the following section, including word order, main word classes, their grammatical categories, and how and where these are expressed, i.e. the formal aspects of inflection.

1.3.1 Word order

The unmarked word order in Chechen is SOV.

- (1) Maryam-as kniga-sh iytsira.
Maryam-ERG book.ABS-PL bought
'Maryam bought books.'

However, the flexibility and rigidity of this word order depends on whether the clause is independent or subordinate. In independent clauses the word order is flexible, so other word orders are often found, with the most frequent word order OVS, which can be used almost interchangeably with the neutral SOV. Other word orders, such as VSO, SVO and VOS occur under certain pragmatic conditions, i.e. when a particular constituent is focalized. The word order that is extremely rare and, in some cases, does not sound grammatical is OSV. The following examples illustrate all possible word order patterns:

- (2) Kniga-sh iytsira Maryam-as. OVS
book.ABS-PL bought Maryam-ERG
'Maryam bought books.' (not notebooks)
- (3) Iytsira Maryam-as kniga-sh. VSO
bought Maryam-ERG book.ABS-PL
'Maryam bought books.' (not sold)
- (4) Maryam-as iytsira kniga-sh. SVO
Maryam-ERG bought book.ABS-PL.
'Maryam bought books.' (not Yasmina)
- (5) Iytsira kniga-sh Maryam-as. VOS
bought book.ABS-PL Maryam-ERG
'Maryam bought books.'
- (6) #Kniga-sh Maryam-as iytsira. OSV
book.ABS-PL Maryam-ERG bought
'Maryam bought books.'

Example (2) manifests the OVS word order which is commonly used in the language. In (3) through (5) other word orders —VSO, SVO and VOS — can be observed depending on which constituent in a clause is focalized. For instance, in (9) *Maryam-as iytsi-ra kniga-sh* 'Maryam bought books' the focalised constituent is the subject Maryam, emphasizing that it is her who

bought books, not somebody else. Some of these word orders occur more often than others; for instance, OVS is very common to compare to VOS which rarely occurs. The word order in example (6) is the least common and rarely used in the language.

The word order in subordinate clauses shows some discrepancies, more particularly, complement clauses seem to allow some word order variations (discourse determined) similar to independent clauses, whereas adverbial and relative clauses demonstrate rigid — neutral SOV — word order.

The following are examples of adverbial clauses. In (7) the adverbial clause (bracketed) exemplifies SOV word order; if it is changed the sentence is no longer acceptable as examples (8) - (12) show:

- (7) [Sha sovgʔat o'ts-ush] so'h kʔayladinera tso. SOV
 she.REFL present.SG.ABS. buy-CNVB I-LOC concealed she.ERG
 'She concealed from me that/when she was buying a present.'
- (8)*[Sha o'ts-ush sovgʔat] so'h kʔayladinera tso. SVO
 she.REFL buy-CNVB present.SG.ABS I-LOC concealed she.ERG
 'She concealed from me that/when she was buying a present.'
- (9) *[Sovgʔat sha o'ts-ush] so'h kʔayladinera tso. OSV
 present.SG.ABS she.REFL buy-CNVB I-LOC concealed she.ERG
 'She concealed from me that/when she was buying a present.'
- (10)*[O'ts-ush sha sovgʔat] so'h kʔayladinera tso. VSO
 buy-CNVB she.REFL present.SG.ABS I-LOC concealed she-ERG
 'She concealed from me that/when she was buying a present.'
- (11)*[Sovgʔat o'ts-ush sha] so'h kʔayladinera tso. OVS
 present.SG.ABS buy-CNVB she.REFL I-LOC concealed she-ERG
 'She concealed from me that/when she was buying a present.'
- (12)*[O'ts-ush sovgʔat sha] so'h kʔayladinera tso. VOS
 buy-CNVB present.SG.ABS she.REFL I-LOC concealed she-ERG
 'She concealed from me that/when she was buying a present.'

As examples (8) through (12) show adverbial clauses do not allow variation in word order as is the case in independent clauses. Some word orders, in particular (9) and (10), can occur in literature, in particular poetry, but crucially not in normal speech. Relative clauses show patterns similar to adverbial clauses, disallowing variation in word order. Consider the following examples:

- (13)[Sha ets-na d-olu sovgʔat] soh kʔayladinera tso. SOV
 she.REFL buy-NON-FIN CL3-is present.SG.ABS I-LOC concealed she-ERG
 ‘She concealed from me the present that she bought.’
- (14)*[Sovgʔat sha ets-na d-olu] soh kʔayladinera tso. OSV
 present.SG.ABS she.REFL buy-NON-FIN CL3-is I-LOC concealed she-ERG
 ‘She concealed from me the present that she bought.’
- (15)*[Sha sovgʔat ets-na d-olu] soh kʔayladinera tso. SOV
 she.REFL present.SG.ABS buy-NON-FIN CL3-is I-LOC concealed she-ERG
 ‘She concealed from me the present that she bought.’
- (16)*[Sovgʔat ets-na d-olu sha] soh kʔayladinera tso. OVS
 present.SG.ABS buy-NON-FIN CL3-is she.REFL I-LOC concealed she-ERG
 ‘She concealed from me the present that she bought.’
- (17)*[Ets-na d-olu sha sovgʔat] soh kʔayladinera tso. VSO
 buy-NON-FIN CL3-is she.REFL present.SG.ABS I-LOC concealed she-ERG
 ‘She concealed from me the present that she bought.’
- (18)*[Ets-na d-olu sovgʔat sha] soh kʔayladinera tso. VOS
 buy-NON-FIN CL3-is present.SG.ABS she.REFL I-LOC concealed she-ERG
 ‘She concealed from me the present that she bought.’

Now let us have a look at word order variation in complement clauses. This type of clause shows some discrepancies if compared to other types of subordinate clause. Similar to examples of adverbial and relative clause, the neutral word order in complement clauses is SOV; however, OSV word order can be found in certain pragmatically determined contexts.

- (19)[Sha sovgʔat etsa-r] soh kʔayladinera tso. SOV
 she.REFL present.SG.ABS buy-NMLZ I.LOC concealed she.ERG
 ‘She concealed from me (the fact) that she bought a present.’
- (20)#[Sovgʔat sha etsa-r] soh kʔayladinera tso. OSV
 present.SG.ABS she.REFL buy-NMLZ I.LOC concealed she.ERG
 ‘She concealed from me (the fact) that she bought a present.’
- (21)*[Sovgʔat etsa-r sha] soh kʔayladinera tso. OVS
 present.SG.ABS buy-NMLZ she.REFL I.LOC concealed she.ERG
 ‘She concealed from me (the fact) that she bought a present.’
- (22)*[Sha etsa-r sovgʔat] soh kʔayladinera tso. SVO
 she.REFL buy-NMLZ present.SG.ABS I.LOC concealed she.ERG
 ‘She concealed from me (the fact) that she bought a present.’
- (23)*[Etsa-r sha sovgʔat] soh kʔayladinera tso. VSO
 buy-NMLZ she.REFL present.SG.ABS I.LOC concealed she.ERG
 ‘She concealed from me (the fact) that she bought a present.’
- (24)*[Etsa-r sovgʔat sha] soh kʔayladinera tso. VOS
 buy-NMLZ present.SG.ABS she.REFL I.LOC concealed she.ERG
 ‘She concealed from me (the fact) that she bought a present.’

As evident from the presented data, the word order in main clauses is more flexible compared to that in subordinate clauses. Almost all possible word orders can be found in main clauses including SOV, OVS or VSO while subordinate clauses only allow SOV.

1.3.2 Head-final and dependent-marking

Chechen is a head-final language; therefore, heads are always found following their dependents. Consider the following examples:

- (25) Madin-in [N **kniga**]
 Madina-GEN book.SG.ABS
 ‘Madina’s book’
- (26) Hedar [P **tʔeh**]
 plate.SG.ABS on
 ‘On a plate’
- (27) Tso shen heharhochunna zezega-sh **d-elira**.
 she.ERG she.REFL teacher.DAT flower-PL CL3-gave
 ‘She gave flowers to her teacher.’

As the examples show, heads (in boldface) follow their dependents. The head possessive noun *kniga* ‘book’ in the noun phrase in (25) follows its dependent noun, the possessor *Madin-in* ‘Madina’s’. In the postpositional phrase in (26) *tʔeh* ‘on’, is the head of the phrase, which follows its dependent noun *hedar* ‘plate’. In the last example, the clause contains a ditransitive verb *delira* ‘gave’ which follows all its dependent arguments, the subject *tso* ‘she’, the indirect object *shen heharhochunna* ‘her teacher’ and direct object *zezagash* ‘flowers’.

Nichols (1986: 57) distinguishes different types of these dependency relationships, as shown in table 1.

Table 1. Dependency relationships

LEVEL	HEAD	DEPENDENT
Phrase	possessed noun	possessor
	noun	modifying adjective
	adposition	object of adposition
Clause	predicate	arguments and adjuncts
	auxiliary verb	lexical (‘main’) verb
Sentence	main-clause predicate	relative or subordinate clause

Nichols (1986) refers to these dependency relationships as syntactic relations, and highlights that these can be either head-marked or dependent-marked. Chechen is a language that marks its dependents (Nichols 1986: 59). Some of the dependency relationships are

illustrated in examples above. So, in noun phrase (25) the dependent noun is marked with genitive case indicating the possession; in (26) the dependent noun is marked with absolutive case and singular, while the head postposition is in its bare form; and lastly, in (27) the two arguments of the head verb are marked with ergative and absolutive case. The following examples show the dependency relationships between a head and its dependent within a complex sentence:

(28) Madina [urok-ash y-ina-chul tʔah'a] dʔa-y-ijira.
Madina.ABS homework.ABS-PL CL2-make-CNVB after PRVB-CL2-laid
'Madina went to bed after she finished her homework.'

(29) Madina_i [sha_i urok-ash y-ina-chul tʔah'a]
Madina.ABS she.REFL homework.ABS-PL CL2-make-CNVB after
dʔa-y-ijira.
PRVB-CL2-laid
'Madina went to bed after she finished her homework.'

(lit. 'Madina went to bed after she finished her homework.')

The sentence in (28) is an example of a complex sentence which contains an adverbial clause, *urokash yinachul tʔaha* 'after she finished her homework'. As a dependent, the adverbial clause is marked by the deletion of the subject or alternatively the subject is represented by a reflexive pronoun, which is co-referential with the main clause subject, as (29) shows. Conversely, the main clause does not allow deletion of subject or reflexivisation, as (30) and (31) illustrate:

(30)*∅ [Madina-s uroka-sh y-ina-chul tʔaha] dʔa-y-ijira.
Madina-ERG homework.ABS-PL CL2-make-CNVB after PRVB-CL2-laid
'Madina went to bed after she finished her homework.'

- (31) *Sha [Madina urok-ash y-ina-chul tʔah'a]
she.REFL Madina.ABS homework.ABS-PL CL2-make-CNVB after
dʔa-y-ijira.
PRVB-CL2-laid
'Madina went to bed after she finished her homework.'

1.3.3 Morphological ergativity vs. syntactic accusativity

Chechen is an ergative language. According to Dixon (1994), the classification of languages into ergative/absolutive and nominative/accusative is based on the alignment of grammatical roles of verbal arguments. In this paper, I will be using the terminology introduced by Dixon (1994: 6), namely S for subject of intransitive verb, A and O for subject and object of transitive verb respectively. Cross-linguistically, A and O in a transitive clause must be marked differently; while S can be marked in the same way as A or O resulting in two case systems (Dixon 1994, Tallerman 2020). Languages which follow the accusative pattern mark A and S similarly, as opposed to ergative languages where S and O are marked in the same way (Dixon 1994). According to this categorization, Chechen aligns S and O together, marking A differently exemplifying an ergative alignment. Examples (32) and (33) respectively, show this:

- (32) Maryam-as kniga-sh iytsira.
Maryam-ERG book.ABS-PL bought
'Maryam (A) bought books (O).'
- (33) Hamza Manchester-e v-akhara.
Hamza.ABS Manchester-LOC CLI-went
'Hamza (S) went to Manchester.'

In (32) the A *Maryamas* 'Maryam' of the transitive verb is marked with ergative case; whereas the O *knigash* 'books' of this verb is marked with absolutive case, similar to S *Hamza* 'Hamza'

of the intransitive verb in (33) which is also marked with absolutive case, thus manifesting S=O≠A.

Although manifesting an ergative alignment morphologically, Chechen does not show the same pattern syntactically. There are certain syntactic constraints applied when clauses are combined or when coreferential constituents in combined clauses are omitted; in the event when S and O are treated in the same way while A is treated differently, the alignment is referred to as ‘syntactically ergative’ (S/O pivot), in case when the syntactic constraints treat A and S in the same way, and O is differently, then the alignment is ‘syntactically accusative’ (A/S pivot) (Dixon 1994). The data provides evidence that syntactically the language exemplifies nominative/accusative alignment. When clauses are combined, whether by means of coordination or subordination, the NP that is shared can be easily replaced by a pronoun; however, when this NP is omitted, it can be omitted from occurring for the second time only if in each of the clauses it occurs in A or S function (Dixon 1994). Consider the following examples:

- (34) Vasha (S) tsʔaveara, tkʔa tsunna (A) yisha (O) gira.
brother-DAT returned-CNVB CONJ he.DAT sister.ABS saw
‘Brother returned and saw his sister.’

The example (34) illustrates two clauses, intransitive clause with an S argument, and transitive clause with two arguments, A and O. The following sentences can be obtained from this example, as shown in (35) and (36):

- (35) Vesh(i)-na (S) tsʔaveʔ-cha, yisha (O) gira.
brother-DAT returned-CNVB sister.ABS saw
‘When brother returned, he saw his sister.’

- (36) Yisha (O) gaⁿ a gina, tsʔaveara vosha (S).
sister.ABS see CONJ see returned brother.ABS
‘Brother saw sister and returned.’

In (35) the common NP for both clauses is the NP *veshina* ‘brother’, which functions as S of an intransitive clause and can only be omitted from occurring for the second time if functioning as A and S in both of these clauses. This is evident from the example which illustrates an S=A pivot, i.e. syntactic accusativity, as opposed to S=O pivot, seen in languages exemplifying syntactic ergativity. Similarly, in (36) the common NP *vosha* ‘brother’ (S) is present in an intransitive clause and is omitted from a transitive clause, again illustrating a syntactic accusativity pattern.

1.3.4 Valency: causative construction

Chechen does not have passive; the construction that the language uses to change the valency of a verb is causative. As Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000: 13) note, if a language exemplifies a causative, this often happens only in relation to intransitive verbs, i.e. S (the causee) changes into O under the causative derivation, while an introduced argument (the causer) functions as A; however, in some languages it may also apply to transitive verbs. The causative in Chechen applies both to intransitive and transitive verbs. The following examples show both types of verb in (37) and (39) respectively:

(37) Adam dʔa-v-ahara.

Adam.ABS PRVB-CL1-went

‘Adam (S) left.’

(38) As Adam dʔa-v-ahi-yt-i.

I.ERG Adam.ABS PRVB-CL1-go-CAUS-PRF

‘I (A) made Adam (O) to leave.’

- (39) Adam-as kniga y-iysh-ira.
Adam-ERG book.SG.ABS CL2-read-PST
'Adam (A) read a book (O).'
- (40) As (Adam-ig) kniga y-eshi-yt-ira.
I.ERG Adam-LOC book.SG.ABS. CL2-read-CAUS-PST
'I (A) made (Adam) (iO) to read a book (O).'

The verb *dʔavahara* 'left' in (37) is intransitive so it takes only one argument, S *Adam*. After the causative derivation takes place, the S argument is demoted from its original position to the O position as (38) shows, whereas the A of a transitive verb is occupied by a new actant, namely the one who caused the action. In (39) the verb is transitive, taking two arguments A *Adam* and O *kniga* 'book'. The causative changes the verb into a ditransitive; the subject *Adam* is demoted from its original A position to indirect object position and similar to the first example, there is an introduced subject, the causer *as* 'I'. The main verbs in both examples agree in gender class with their O *kniga* 'book'. Causatives in Chechen are marked morphologically by the attachment of a suffix *-yt* to a verb as illustrated by examples.

The same causative construction but formed in a slightly different way also occurs in Chechen. Consider examples of both intransitive and transitive clauses:

- (41) As d1a-v-ahi-yt-ina v-ara Adam.
I.ERG PRVB-CL1-go-CAUS-PRF CL1-was Adam ABS
'I made Adam to leave.' (lit. 'It is me who made Adam to leave.')
- (42)¹As y-eshi-yt-ina y-ara Adam-ig kniga.
I.ERG CL2-read-CAUS-PRF CL2-was Adam -LOC book.SG.ABS
'I made Adam to read a book.' (lit. 'It is me who made Adam to read a book.')

¹ In Absolutive paradigm, an intransitive verb agrees with its subject, while when there is a transitive verb (which always appears in lexical verb plus auxiliary form in absolutive paradigm), a lexical verb agrees with its direct object and auxiliary agrees with the subject. In Ergative paradigm, both intransitive and transitive verbs never agree with their subject; when the verb is transitive (both lexical verb and auxiliary), it always agrees with its direct object.

Syntactically, there is not a significant difference between (38) and (41) and (40) and (42) except for the verb tense and an auxiliary verb *vara* and *yara* (masculine and feminine forms of the verb ‘be’) in (41) and (42) respectively. In terms of semantics however, there is a greater difference between the clauses. In the first set of examples (38) and (40), the causer is just mentioned in order to indicate by whom was made an action, whereas in (41) and (42) there is an emphasis on the causer (the subject as ‘I’), stressing that this particular person caused the action to take place but crucially not somebody else.

The causer in causative constructions is always in ergative case. The causee on the other hand is in absolutive when expressed by an object or in oblique when expressed by an optional oblique phrase.

As examples in (43) through (46) show, the causer cannot be omitted in which case the sentences are ungrammatical:

(43)* e Adam dʔa-v-ahi-yt-i.

e Adam.ABS PRVB-CL1-go-CAUS-PST

‘e made Adam (O) to leave.’

(44) *e Adam-ig kniga y-eshi-yt-ira.

e Adam-LOC book.SG.ABS CL3-read-CAUS-PST

‘e made (Adam) (iO) to read a book (O).’

(45)*e d1a-v-ahi-yt-ina v-ara Adam.

e PRVB-CL1-made-CAUS-PRF CL1-was Adam.ABS

‘Adam was made to go.’

(46)*e y-eshi-yt-ina y-ara Adam-ig kniga.

e CL2-read-CAUS-PRF CL2-was Adam-LOC book.SG.ABS

‘Adam was made to read a book.’

In relation to causee, it may or may not be present. Previous examples show constructions where it is present and cannot be omitted as shown in (47) and (48):

(47) *As e d1a-v-ahi-yt-i.

I.ERG e PRVB-CL1-go-CAUS-PRF

‘I made e to leave.’

(48) As e kniga y-eshi-yt-ira.

I.ERG e book.SG.ABS CL3-read-CAUS-PST

‘I made e to read a book.’

However, there are constructions when the causee can be easily omitted, as the following examples show:

(49) Adam-as Movsar-an Ahmad-ig etti-yt-ira.

Adam-ERG Movsar-DAT Ahmad-LOC beat-CAUS-PST

‘Adam made Ahmad to beat Movsar.’

(50) Adam-as Movsar-an e etti-yt-ira.

Adam-ERG Movsar-DAT beat-CAUS-PST

‘Adam got Movsar beaten.’

It has been suggested that there is evidence that cross-linguistically causee can be omitted only in certain circumstances (Alsina 1992:519). This is possible when it is expressed by an optional oblique phrase as *Ahmad* in (49), otherwise, when it functions as an object, as Adam, as shown in (38) above, it is not possible, as it is shown in (43).

According to Komen, Molochieva and Nichols (2021), there are few types of causative construction in Chechen, namely direct causative, indirect causative, double causative and inceptive. Each type will be discussed in turn with the same example from Chechen to make it easier to show the difference among the different types of causative.

The first type of causative, i.e. the direct causative, derives a transitive verb from an intransitive verb, ‘where the change of state or position or location comes about as a result of direct, often physical, action by the added A’; and this type of causative can also be applied to few transitive verbs, such as *yaa* ‘eat’ and *mala* ‘drink’. With the new added argument (A), the intransitive subject (S) changes into the transitive object (O), the case of the latter remains

unchanged, i.e. nominative, the same as it was for the intransitive subject (S) (Komen, Molochieva and Nichols 2011). When the derivation applies to a transitive verb, the S of the transitive verb becomes an indirect object with a change to its case, from ergative to dative. The new argument takes an ergative case. Consider the following set of examples where the first example is an input sentence:

(51) Tsitsig-as yaahluma yuu.

cat.SG-ERG food.ABS eat.PRES

‘The cat eats the food.’

(52) As tsitsig-an yaahluma y-aayo.

I.ERG cat.SG-DAT food.ABS CL2-eat.DRT.CAUS

‘I make the cat to eat food.’

The indirect causative is different from the direct causative in that it can be applied to any verb. Unlike the A of the derived transitive verb in the direct causative, the A of the transitive verb in the indirect causative does not necessarily physically take part in causing an action, while indirectly still being a causer. The S becomes a transitive object (O) having the same nominative case.

(53) As tsitsig-e yaahluma y-ouytu.

I.ERG cat.SG-LOC food.ABS CL2-eat.INDRT.CAUS

‘I let the cat to eat food.’

The double causative construction is simply derived from the direct causative, or as described by Komen, Molochieva and Nichols (2011), ‘the double causative causativizes a direct causative’.

(54) As ho’ga tsitsig-an yaahluma y-aayoytu.

I.ERG you.LOC cat.SG-DAT food.ABS CL2-eat.DBL.CAUS

‘I make/let you to give the cat food.’

The last type is referred to as an inceptive, and it can be applied to verbs of any valency. When the derivation takes place, no new arguments are added, so a transitive verb becomes ambitransitive, as the A is optional. The case of an input A changes from ergative A to dative (Komen, Molochieva and Nichols 2011).

(55) Tsitsi-ge yaah1uma yaa-lo

cat-LOC food.ABS eat-INC

‘The cat can/is able to eat the food.’

(56) Yaah1uma yaa-lo

food.ABS eat-INC

‘I can eat the food.’

(lit. ‘the food is eat-able.’)

1.3.5 Grammatical categories of nouns

Nouns in Chechen have the categories of gender class, number and case (Desheriev 1967); these will be discussed in turn.

There are six gender classes in Chechen, which are marked on the verb (Desheriev 1967). This categorization is made based on nouns belonging to the class of humans or non-humans plus masculine, feminine or neutral (Nichols 1994a: 21). The exception is *Class 3* which consists of human as well as non-human nouns. All six gender classes are shown in table, which is based on Desheriev (1967).

Table 1 The noun classes of Chechen

<i>Class</i>	<i>Features of nouns</i>	<i>Prefix on verb (in singular)</i>	<i>Prefix on verb (in plural)</i>
1	Human, masculine	<i>v-</i> (<i>kʔant v-u</i> ‘boy is’, <i>stag v-u</i> ‘man is’)	<i>d-/b-</i> (<i>kʔentiy b-u</i> ‘boys are’, <i>stegariy b-u</i> ‘men are’)
2	Human, feminine	<i>y-</i> (<i>yoʔ y-u</i> ‘girl is’, <i>zuda y-u</i> ‘woman is’)	<i>d-/b-</i> (<i>mehkariy b-u</i> ‘girls are’, <i>zudariy b-u</i> ‘women are’)
3	Non-human, neutral (except for some nouns, Nichols 1994a: 22)	<i>d-</i> (<i>dig d-u</i> ‘ox is’), (<i>be:r d-u</i> ‘child is’)	<i>d-</i> (<i>diggarchiy d-u</i> ‘oxen are’)
4	Non-human, feminine	<i>y-</i> (<i>kotam y-u</i> ‘chicken is’)	<i>y-</i> (<i>kotamash y-u</i> ‘chickens are’)
5	Non-human	<i>b-</i> (<i>kog b-u</i> ‘leg is’)	<i>b-</i> (<i>kogash b-u</i> ‘legs are’)
6	Non-human	<i>b-</i> (<i>ʔaj b-u</i> ‘apple is’)	<i>d-</i> (<i>ʔejiy d-u</i> ‘apples are’)

Noun classes are marked on verbs (both lexical and auxiliary) and controlled by absolutive arguments (whether it is a subject or direct object) which determine which noun class is marked on the verb (Ganenkov and Maisak 2021). For instance, class 2 nouns (the category which includes all humans of feminine gender) indicated by a prefix *y-*, attaches to a verb in a form of a prefix (on verbs with preverbs these appear in a form of inflex immediately following the preverb, for instance, as in *iza dʔa-y-khara* ‘she left’ etc.). In Chechen as well as in other Nakh-Dagestani languages, gender agreement is not dependant on finiteness, i.e. ‘if a stem/lexeme is specified as bearing the gender agreement marker, then it shows agreement in all clauses, finite and non-finite (Ganenkov and Maisak 2021). Consider the following examples where both finite and non-finite verbs are marked for noun class:

(57) *Iza dʔa-y-akhara.*

she.ABS PRVB-CL2-go

‘She left.’

(58) *Iza dʔa-y-od-ush y-u.*

she.ABS PRVB-CL2-go-PRTC CL2-is

‘She is leaving.’

As the examples show, the noun class (class 2) is marked on both verbs, a finite verb *dʔayakhara* ‘left’ and a non-finite verb form, a participle accompanied by an auxiliary *dʔayodush yu* ‘is leaving’. The argument controlling the noun class agreement is a subject *iza* ‘she’ in both clauses which is in absolutive. In a transitive clause, a noun class of a subject is marked on an auxiliary whereas a noun class of a direct object – on a lexical verb, as shown in (59):

- (59) Iza chay d-utt-ush y-u.
 she.ABS(CL2) tea.ABS(CL3) CL3-pour-PRTC CL2-is
 ‘She is pouring tea.’

Nouns are marked for singular and plural. There are two suffixes *-sh* and *-y* that make nouns plural, as in *kor-(a)sh* window-PL ‘windows’ and *kʔenti-y* boy-PL ‘boys’ (Magomedov 2000, Desheriev 1967). Normally, the noun stem stays intact when pluralized; however, there are exceptions to this generalization, for instance *dig* ‘ox’ in plural is not *digi-y* but *diggarchi-y* ox-PL ‘oxen’. However, nouns with numerals are not inflected with plural but singular, for instance, not *shi kucham-(a)sh* but *shi koch* ‘two dresses’, not *phi tsitsig-(a)sh* but *phi tsitsig* ‘five cats’, not *kho-diI surt-(a)sh* but *kho-diI surt* ‘few photos’ etc.

Chechen has eight cases which appear on nouns as bound morphemes (Desheriev 1967) (except for absolutive which has an unmarked form): *Absolutive* ($-\emptyset$), *Genitive* ($-i(a)n$), *Ergative* ($-asa, -as, -sa, -s,$), *Dative* ($-(a)na$), *Instrumental* ($-tsa$), *Locative* ($-ga, -ge, -e, -ie$), *Comparative* ($-l, -lla$) and *Allative* ($-h$). Consider the noun *surt* ‘picture’ in singular and plural as an example, in Table 2.

Table 2. Case system in Chechen

Case	Suffix	Example in singular and plural	Translation
Absolutive	$-\emptyset$	<i>surt, surt-(a)sh</i>	‘picture/pictures’

Ergative	<i>-asa, -as, -sa, -s, -o</i>	<i>surta-s, surtash-a</i>	‘picture/pictures’
Genitive	<i>-(i)an</i>	<i>surt-an, surtash-an</i>	‘picture’s/pictures’
Dative	<i>-(a)na,</i>	<i>surt-ana, surtash-na</i>	‘to picture/pictures’
Instrumental	<i>-tsa</i>	<i>surta-tsa, surtash-tsa</i>	‘with picture/pictures’
Locative	<i>-ga, -ge, -e, -ie</i>	<i>surti-ga, surtash-ga</i>	‘to picture/pictures’
Comparative	<i>-l, -lla</i>	<i>surta-l, surtanasha-l</i>	‘compared to pictures/pictures’
Allative	<i>-h</i>	<i>surta-h, surtanasha-h</i>	‘by picture/pictures’

It should be noted that the example given in the table above is a ‘standard’ word, i.e. the word has various suffixes attached to it depending on case, however there are no changes in the word stem itself. But there are words where along with the suffixes different stem alternations take place. Consider the examples given in Table 3.

Table 3. Case system in Chechen

Case	Suffix	Examples with translations	
Absolutive	<i>-∅</i>	<i>dog</i> ‘heart’	<i>koch</i> ‘dress’
Ergative	<i>-asa, -as, -sa, -s, -o</i>	<i>dago</i> ‘heart’	<i>koch-as</i> ‘dress’
Genitive	<i>-(i)an</i>	<i>degan</i> ‘heart’s’	<i>kuch-an</i> ‘dress’s’
Dative	<i>-(a)na, -n (na)</i>	<i>dega-na</i> ‘to heart’	<i>kucha-nna</i> ‘to dress’
Instrumental	<i>-tsa</i>	<i>dega-tsa</i> ‘with heart’	<i>kucha-tsa</i> ‘with dress’

Locative	<i>-ga, -ge, -e, -ie</i>	<i>dogi-ga</i> ‘by heart’	<i>kuch-e</i> ‘by dress’
Comparative	<i>-(a)l, -lla</i>	<i>doga-l</i> ‘compared to heart’	<i>kuch-al</i> ‘compared to dress’
Allative	<i>-h</i>	<i>doga-h</i> ‘from heart’	<i>kucha-h</i> ‘from’

The following tables show case paradigms of personal and reflexive pronouns, based on Komen, Nichols and Molochieva (2021).

Table 4. Case paradigm of personal pronouns

	1st Singular	1st Plural(EXCL)	1st Plural(INC)	2nd Singular	2nd Plural	2nd Singular	2nd Plural
ABS	<i>so</i>	<i>tho</i>	<i>vay</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>shu</i>	<i>i/iza</i>	<i>ush</i>
GEN	<i>san</i>	<i>than</i>	<i>vayn</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>shun</i>	<i>tsunan</i>	<i>tseran</i>
DAT	<i>suna</i>	<i>thuna</i>	<i>vayna</i>	<i>huna</i>	<i>shuna</i>	<i>tsunna</i>	<i>tsarna</i>
ERG	<i>as</i>	<i>oha</i>	<i>vay</i>	<i>ah</i>	<i>ash</i>	<i>tso</i>	<i>tsara</i>
ALL	<i>so'ga</i>	<i>tho'ga</i>	<i>vayga</i>	<i>ho'ga</i>	<i>shu'ga</i>	<i>tsunga</i>	<i>tsa'rga</i>
ABL	<i>so'gara</i>	<i>tho'gara</i>	<i>vaygara</i>	<i>ho'gara</i>	<i>shu'gara</i>	<i>tsungara</i>	<i>tsa'rgara</i>
INSTR	<i>so'tsa</i>	<i>tho'tsa</i>	<i>vaytsa</i>	<i>ho'tsa</i>	<i>shu'tsa</i>	<i>tsuntsa</i>	<i>tsartsa</i>
LAT	<i>so'h</i>	<i>thoh</i>	<i>vayh</i>	<i>h'oh</i>	<i>shuh</i>	<i>tsunah</i>	<i>tsarah</i>
COMPR	<i>so'l</i>	<i>thol</i>	<i>vayl</i>	<i>hol</i>	<i>shul</i>	<i>tsul</i>	<i>tsaral</i>

Table 5. Case paradigm of reflexive pronouns

	First Singular	Second Singular	Third Singular
ABS	<i>suo</i>	<i>huo</i>	<i>sha</i>

	First Singular	Second Singular	Third Singular
GEN	<i>sayn</i>	<i>hayn</i>	<i>shen</i>
DAT	<i>sayna</i>	<i>hayna</i>	<i>shena</i>
ERG	<i>aysa</i>	<i>ah</i>	<i>sha</i>
ALL	<i>sayga</i>	<i>hayga</i>	<i>shega</i>
ABL	<i>saygara</i>	<i>haygara</i>	<i>shegara</i>
INSTR	<i>saytsa</i>	<i>haytsa</i>	<i>shetsa</i>
LAT	<i>sayh</i>	<i>hayh</i>	<i>sheh</i>
COMPR	<i>sayl</i>	<i>hayl</i>	<i>shel</i>

1.3.6 Grammatical categories of verbs

The verb in Chechen is rich in inflectional morphology. It is inflected for grammatical categories such as noun class, tense, aspect and mood but not for person (Desheriev 1967, Nichols 1994a: 37). These categories will be discussed in turn. Verbs are marked with a noun class which appears on verbs in a form of a prefix, which changes depending on the noun class. Examples (60) and (61) show the marking of a noun class on a verb:

(60) Hamza universitet-e v-ahara.

Hamza.ABS university.SG-LOC CL1-went

‘Hamza went to university.’

(61) Madina dʔa-y-ahara.

Madina.ABS PRVB-CL2-left

‘Madina left.’

In example (60) the subject (S) of the intransitive verb *vahara* ‘went’ belongs to class 1, thus the verb is marked with the relevant prefix -v, whereas in (66) the S of the intransitive verb *dʔayahara* ‘left’ belongs to class 2, hence the verb appears with a different marker -y. The verbs that show agreement constitute a very small set of all verbs in Chechen, only 30 per cent

according to Nichols (1994a: 21). The remaining verbs do not agree with their arguments, as shown in (62), where the verb *iytsira* ‘bought’ does not show any agreement:

- (62) Karina-s kerla koch iytsira.
 Karina-ERG new dress.SG.ABS bought
 ‘Karina bought a new dress.’

Based on this distinction, verbs in Chechen are divided into two categories, *class* verbs (which are inflected for grammatical class of their arguments) and *non-class* verbs (which show no agreement with their arguments) (Magomedov 2000). For the class verbs there is a further division which is related to the transitivity of verbs. I will discuss this in the next chapter when I talk about verbs in more detail.

The tense system is rich in Chechen, featuring past, present, and future tenses. The past tense is particularly rich including tenses such as past perfective, past imperfective, past progressive, recent witnessed past and remote witnessed past. Chechen has simple as well as compound tenses (Nichols 1994a: 38-39) which are marked on verbs through suffixation and changes in the verb stem (these are listed in Table 2).

Table 2. Tense in Chechen

Tense	Verb Form	Main verb suffix	Example <i>yaa</i> ‘to eat’ and <i>deha</i> ‘to ask’	Translation
Present Simple	stem vowel alternations	-y/-u	y <u>u</u> do’ <u>h</u> u	‘eat’ ‘ask’
<p>Ex. As diynah’ khuza yaahluma yuu. I.ERG a day thrice food.ABS eat ‘I eat three times a day.’</p>				
Present Progressive	Present Participle and the copular verb <i>d(v-,y-,b-)u</i>	<i>-ush/-esh</i>	yuush y-u do’hush vu	‘is eating’ ‘is asking’
<p>Ex. Iza yaahluma yu-ush v-u. he.ABS food.ABS eat-PRTC CL1-is ‘He is eating.’</p>				
Present Perfect	stem vowel alternations	<i>-na, -lla</i>	yi <u>l</u> na de <u>h</u> na	‘have eaten’ ‘have asked’
<p>Ex. Tso yaahluma yi<u>l</u>na. he.ERG food.ABS ate ‘He has finished his food.’</p>				
Recent Past Witnessed	stem vowel alternations	<i>-u, -i</i>	y <u>i</u> i di <u>y</u> hi	‘ate’ ‘asked’
<p>Ex. Tso yaahluma d<u>l</u>ayii. he.ERG food.ABS ate ‘He finished his food.’ (The action has just happened, and I saw/witnessed this.)</p>				
Remote Past Witnessed	Recent Past Witnessed plus stem vowel alternations	<i>-ira</i>	yi <u>i</u> ra di <u>y</u> hira	‘ate’ ‘asked’
<p>Ex. Tso yaahluma d<u>l</u>ayiira. he.ERG food.ABS ate ‘He ate his food.’ (The action took place in the past, has no connection to the present, and I witnessed this.)</p>				

Past Imperfect	Present Simple	<i>-ra</i>	yuura do'hura	'used to eat' 'used to ask'
<p>Ex. Tso yaahluma yuura tho'tsa sih-siha. he.ERG food.ABS used.to.eat we.INSTR often 'He often used to eat with us.'</p>				
Past Perfect	Present Perfect	<i>-ra</i>	yilnera dehnera	'had eaten' 'had asked'
<p>Ex. Tso yaahluma yilnera. he.ERG food.ABS had.eaten 'He had eaten.'</p>				
Past Progressive	Present Participle and the copula verb d(v-,y-,b-)ara	<i>-ush/-esh</i>	yuush vara do'hush yara	'was eating' 'was asking'
<p>Ex. So yaahluma yuush yara. I.ABS food.ABS eat-PRTC was 'I was eating.'</p>				
Potential Future	Present Simple	<i>-r</i>	yuar dehar	'will eat' 'will ask'
<p>Ex. Yuar as. eat I.ERG 'I will eat. (may be or not)' (This is a potential action which may or may not take place.)</p>				
Compound Future	Potential Future and the copula d(v-,y-,b-)u	<i>-r</i>	yuar yu dehar du	'will eat' 'will ask'
<p>Ex. As yaahluma yuar yu. I.ERG food.ABS eat CL1-is 'I will eat.'</p>				
Future Progressive	Present Participle, Potential Future form of the verb <i>du (hir)</i> and the copula <i>d (v-, y-, b-)u</i> in Present	<i>-ush/esh</i>	yuush hir yu do'hush hir vu	'will be eating' 'will be asking'

Ex. So yaahluma yuush hir yu. I.ABS food.ABS eat-PRTC be CL1-is 'I will be eating.'

It is important to distinguish between the witnessed past tense and perfect tense. The difference is based on evidentiality, i.e. the witnessed past is used when a person was present and could see/witness the action which took place as opposed to perfect tense which is used when the person did not witness the action but made the relevant implications about what might have happened (Komen, Molochieva and Nichols 2021).

(63) Tso shen deshar chekhda'kkhi-ra.
she.ERG she.REFL study.ABS complete-RMT.WIT.PST
'She completed her studies.' (I know because I witnessed it.)

(64) Tso shen deshar chekhda'kkhi-na.
she.ERG she.REFL study.ABS complete-PRES.PRFT
'She completed her studies.' (I don't know but infer from the result.)

Some verbs in Chechen are marked for aspect; depending on whether the action takes place once or occurs repeatedly, verbs in Chechen are divided into two categories: *basic* and *iterative*, for instance, *satsa*ⁿ 'stop' (once) and *sietsa*ⁿ 'stop' (multiple times) (Nichols 1994a: 39, Magomedov 2000).

The language has the following mood forms: indicative, imperative, desiderative and subjunctive (Nichols 1994a: 40). The indicative is used for expressing an actual event, as in *as yosh-u* read-INDIC 'I read' or *so y-istkhul-u* CL2-talk-INDIC 'I talk'. The imperative is further classified into simple imperative (verb stem plus suffix *-a* ex. *yesh-a* read-IMPER 'read'), mild imperative (simple imperative plus suffix *-l*, as in *yesh-a-l* read-IMPER-MILD.IMPER 'read') and polite imperative (simple/mild imperative plus *-ah*, as in *yesh-ah* read-POL.IMPER 'please, read').

The desiderative is formed by attaching the suffix *-hara* to a tensed verb form. For instance, the desiderative of the verb ‘read’ in a present tense is *yeshā-hara* ‘wish (for somebody) to read’. By using this form, a speaker shows that they wish for something to happen (Nichols 1994a: 40).

A verb paradigm in Chechen includes the following verb forms: infinitives, participles, converbs and nominalizations. These are all non-finite verbs but are always inflected for noun class. Each of these verb forms are typically found in different types of clause: infinitives form complement clauses, participles form relative clauses, converbs occur in adverbial clauses (and in chaining, a clause-combining strategy referred to as co-subordination), and nominalizations are found in complement and some of the relative clauses.

The purpose of this section was to introduce the reader to the Chechen language and provide a brief overview of its grammar.

1.4 Introduction to nominalization in Chechen

Nominalizations in Chechen have nominal as well as verbal features. They are nominal in the sense that they occupy the positions in a sentence that would normally be occupied by a subject or an object of a verb, and they can be inflected with case and do not take tense or aspect markers. In relation to verbal features, nominalizations are marked (although with some exceptions, as shown in (65)) for a noun class; they are normally not marked for number, which

is a nominal property. One of the most frequently occurring types of nominalization in Chechen is the *-r* nominalization, which is illustrated in (65):

- (65) Madin-in tsa diyzira san tsiga v-aha-r.
Madina-DAT not liked I.GEN there CL1-go-NMLZ.ABS
'Madina didn't like that I went there.' (lit. 'Madina didn't like my going there.')

This sentence exemplifies a dative construction where the subject is marked with dative, *Madinin* 'Madina' in this case. *Vahar* 'going' is a nominalization which is formed from the verb *vaha* 'go' and the affix *-r*. Its nominal properties can be described as follows: it is marked for absolutive case and in terms of syntactic position, it is a part of the clause *san tsiga vahar* 'my going there' which is the object (O) of the transitive verb *diyzira* 'liked', therefore, a complement to it. The verbal features that this nominalization exemplifies are that it is inflected with the gender class marker *v-* of the pronoun *san* 'my' and it cannot be pluralized. Another type of nominalization is formed by the means of the suffix *-m*, as in (66):

- (66) H'o y-al-cha sogaa haa-m b-elah.
you.ABS CL2-finish-CNVB I.LOC news-NMLZ.ABS ²CL6-let
'When you finish let me know.'

The nominalization *haam* is formed by adding the suffix *-m* to the verb stem *haa* 'know'. It has similar features to the nominalization in (65) when it comes to the nominal features: it is

² In all constructions (except for absolutive), the main verb (a lexical verb in case the predicate consists of a lexical verb plus an auxiliary) agrees in gender with its direct object. Here is an example of a locative construction, where the subject *sogaa* 'I' is marked with locative, and the main verb *belah* 'let' agrees with its direct object *haam* 'news'.

marked with absolutive case and occupies the position of a direct object to the verb *belah* ‘let’. However, this example shows some irregularities in terms of verbal features, namely, it does not have a noun class marker, but instead this marker appears on the verb *belah* ‘let’ to which the object is an argument; moreover, this nominalization can have a plural form, *haam-a-sh* ‘news’. From these preliminary observations, it is clear that some nominalizations as in (65) more resemble verbs whereas others as in (66) are more similar to nouns. Chapter 6 discusses the types of nominalizations found in Chechen in more detail.

1.5 Methodology

In this thesis, I use the following methodology. As a native speaker, I will be using the introspective method. I will chiefly rely on my native speaker intuitions, when the data are clear, and when it is not, ask relatives/friends for grammaticality judgments (remotely, e.g. via social networking or phone). I will be using grammatical as well as ungrammatical sentences to find out which forms are acceptable/unacceptable in the language. The introspective method in combination with grammaticality judgments from native speakers will ensure that I obtain large amount of data in a short period of time.

All examples used in this thesis are the result of my native speaker introspection, except for few instances where some old sayings and proverbs were used, when it was necessary to refer to particular syntactic constructions only found in literature; these instances are clearly indicated in the text. The primary goal was to keep the examples as close to natural speech as possible.

1.6 The organization of the thesis

This thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 offers a description of subordination in Chechen in general, briefly introducing types of subordinate clause, namely complement, adverbial and

relative clauses. This chapter also talks about other ways the language uses to link clauses, such as coordination and co-subordination or chaining, the strategy commonly used in Chechen. The verbal morphology is also discussed, including transitivity, finiteness and agreement of verbs in gender class with their arguments. This chapter also talks about verb paradigms in more detail covering non-finite verb forms – infinitives, participles and converbs – used to form subordinate clauses. The latter non-finite form of a verb is very common in Chechen and there is a plethora of converbal suffixes, which are extensively used in the language. They are primarily used to form adverbial clauses but also occur in chained clauses.

Chapter 3 discusses the complementation in Chechen. The language has different types of complement clause as well as a complementation strategy, namely nominalization. The chapter offers a detailed discussion of complement clauses and complement-taking verbs. The verbs are classified into different groups based on Dixon's (2010) categorization of semantic types of verbs. The chapter also contains the discussion of two non-finite verb forms, namely infinitives and participles which form complement clauses. Further follows the description of fact clauses with the complementizers *a'lla* and *bohush*. The final section offers a description of a type of complement clause marked with an complementizer marker *-y*.

Chapter 4 offers a detailed description of adverbial clauses in Chechen. These include various types such as temporal, conditional, result, purpose, etc. The chapter discusses each of these types including their function, distribution, and morphosyntactic structure. Converbs which are used to form adverbial clauses, are further described in this chapter, following the introductory discussion in Chapter 2. There is also a discussion of different types of subordinating conjunctions which are often found co-occurring with the converbs.

Chapter 5 offers a description of the third major type of subordinate clause, relative clauses. This chapter looks at the strategies used to form relative clauses, the syntactic structure and distribution of this type of clause. I am mainly concerned with the different ways the

language uses to mark the position of a relativized noun, the positions which can be relativized and whether Chechen uses any relative pronoun or relativizer. There will be a discussion of various types of relative clause which occur in the language, such as restrictive relative clauses, non-restrictive relative clauses, non-embedded and headless relative clauses, with the focus on the restrictive relative clauses.

Chapter 6 discusses nominalizations in Chechen. The aim of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims at offering a description of nominalizations addressing some crucial questions such as, the strategies used to form nominalizations, their morphosyntactic properties, function, and distribution. Different types of nominalizations are discussed including the most frequently occurring type, i.e. action nominals. The second objective is to provide a description of nominalization as a complementation strategy. The nominalizations in Chechen are mainly used to form complement clauses but can also be found in relative clauses.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter was aiming at introducing the basic grammatical details about Chechen, including nominal and verbal categories, valency, word order as well as early and contemporary research on the language. The chapter offered a brief description of the linguistic affiliation of Chechen and brief grammar overview of related languages. It also introduced the topic of nominalizations in Chechen, the topic which remains uninvestigated in the language and the description of which is one of the central aims of this thesis. The chapter also includes the methodology used for this study.

Chapter 2. Subordination

This chapter provides a general overview of subordination in Chechen as well as a brief introduction to other types of clause linking, in particular coordination and co-subordination. The chapter offers a brief introduction to each type of subordinate clause, namely complement, adverbial and relative clauses. A description of verbal morphology in Chechen is also included in the chapter, as verb forms are extensively used for the purposes of subordination.

2.1 Clause linking strategies: introducing coordination, subordination and co-subordination in Chechen

Simple sentences can be combined into larger sentences via various clause-combining strategies. Typologists widely recognize two types of relations in clause linkage, namely paratactic and hypotactic; the former is when clauses are coordinated, and the latter is when clauses are combined by subordination. The coordination strategy is described as a syntactic construction which links two or more clauses into one unit (Haspelmath 2004: 34). Coordinated clauses do not display any dependency relationship, that is, they are all of equal syntactic status. Conversely, subordination is a clause-combining strategy leading to a one-way dependency between clauses (Huddleston 1988: 152). Kroeger (2004: 40-41) offers a useful way of distinguishing one strategy from the other by referring to coordinate clauses as ‘double headed’, meaning that both elements that are joined are heads, whereas in subordination the embedded clause is not a co-head in relation to another clause but a dependent. Moreover, coordination allows any categories to be joined, while this is generally limited to clausal and sentential elements in subordination (Kroeger 2004: 40).

Foley and Van Valin (1984) and Olson (1981) introduced a third clause combining strategy, known as co-subordination or chaining. This third type of clause linkage in a sense combines the properties of both subordination and coordination, i.e. it produces a dependency similar to that of subordinate clauses but categorized as being co-ranked but not embedded, similar to coordinate clauses (Foley 2010: 28). As Foley (2010: 28) notes, while being similar to subordinate clauses, chained clauses are different in nature, since subordinate clauses have a structural dependency as opposed to chained clauses which have a semantic dependency. Chained clauses form long chains where the last clause in a sequence is the main clause (Lehmann 1988: 185).

In the remainder of this section, I will briefly introduce all three types of clause-combining in Chechen.

2.1.1 Clause coordination in Chechen

There are two ways of forming coordinated clauses in Chechen. Similar to subordination, in coordination clauses can be linked together by means of conjunctions or without them. Coordinating conjunctions are of several types: conjoining *a* ‘and’, disjoining *ya* ‘or’ and contrastive conjunctions as *tk1a* ‘and’, ‘but’, ‘but then’ *amma* ‘but’, *delah a* ‘even though’, *bak1du*, *hette a* and *tshabak1du*. The following examples demonstrate the use of each type of conjunction:

- (1) [[Malika universitet-e a y-ahara], [biblioteke a y-ahara.]]
Malika.ABS university.SG-LOC CONJ CL2-went library CONJ CL2-went
‘Malika went to university and library.’
- (2) [[Malika khana ya universitet-e g1ur y-u], [ya
Malika.ABS tomorrow DISJ university.SG-LOC go.NON-FIN CL2-is DISJ
shen nanetsa choh 1iir y-u.]]
she.GEN mother.INSTR in.LOC be-NON-FIN CL2-is
‘Tomorrow Malika will go to university or stay home with her mother.’
- (3) [[Malika universitet-e y-ahara], [tkʔa Karina shkol-e y-ahara.]]
Malika.ABS university.SG-LOC CL2-went CONJ Karina.ABS school.SG-LOC CL2-went
‘Malika went to university and Karina went to school.’
- (4) [[As h’ehar dira tsunna], [hette a shen ag1or dira tso.]]
I.ERG advice.ABS CL3-made he.DAT but still he.GEN way CL3-made he.ERG
‘I advised him but he did it his way.’

In (1) we can observe an example of two clauses *Malika uviversitete a yakhara* ‘Malika went to university’ and *biblioteke a yakhara* ‘went to a library’ by means of a conjunction *a* ‘and’. The verb *yakhara* ‘went’ in both clauses is in past tense. In (2) the coordinated clauses are conjoined in a similar way, however using a so-called disjoining *ya* ‘or’. Here also the main verbs in both clauses are finite, in future simple tense. Generally, the obvious difference

between the use of a conjunction *a* ‘and’ and disjunction *ya* ‘or’ is that the use of the former entails all variations that are listed whereas the use of latter means that only one option is selected over other possible ones. The examples (3) and (4) demonstrate the use of contrastive conjunctions, *tkla* and *hette a* in (3) and (4) respectively. In (3) two clauses *Malika universitete yahara* ‘Malika went to university’ and *Karina shkole yahara* ‘Karina went to school’ are independent clauses as they can stand alone; that is neither of these clauses is dependent on the other. They are linked by means of the conjunction *tkla* ‘and’ which functions similar to English conjunction ‘and’ or sometimes ‘but’ or ‘but then’. In (4) *hette a* ‘but still’ is used to link the clauses which similar to other coordinated clauses in previous examples, have an independent clause status as main verbs in both clauses are finite.

It should be noted that contrastive conjunctions show some differences in relation to conjoining and disjoining conjunctions, *a* and *ya*.

Contrastive conjunctions can only link clauses, as examples (3) and (4) show, whereas conjoining *a* and disjoining *ya* can link clauses as well as different types of phrase such as noun phrase, adjective phrase, adverbial phrase and numerals:

- (5) Madina a, Karina a tshana fakultet-eh dosh-ush y-u.
Madina.ABS CONJ Karina.ABS CONJ together school-LOC study-PRTC CL2-are
‘Madina and Karina are studying in the same school.’
- (6) Ts1a a, shozza a, khuzza a ne1 tuyhira tso.
Once CONJ twice CONJ thrice CONJ door.ABS knocked he.ERG
‘He knocked the door for the first, second and third time.’
- (7) Ya k1ayn, ya la’rja, ya siyna bos haza tsa heta tsunna.
DISJ white DISJ black DISJ blue colour.SG.ABS like not think he.DAT
‘He likes neither white, nor black, nor blue colours.’
- (8) Ya tanaha, ya khana chekh-b-okkhura b-u as sayn bolh.

DISJ today DISJ tomorrow finish-CL6-make CL6-is I.ERG my.GEN work.SG.ABS

‘I will finish my work today or tomorrow.’

The sentences in (5) through (8) are examples of conjoining *a* and disjunction *ya* linking different phrases. The conjunction *a* coordinates two types of phrase, noun phrases *Madina a, Karina a* ‘Madina and Karina’ in (5) and numerals *tsa a, shozza a, khuzza a* ‘one, twice and thrice’, as shown in (6). In the next two examples, the disjunction *ya* links adjective phrases *ya klayn, ya la’rja, ya siyna* ‘neither white, nor black, nor blue’ and adverbial phrases *ya tanaha, ya khana* ‘today or tomorrow’, as shown in (7) and (8) respectively.

Although these coordinating words have similarities in terms of their relationships within a phrase or clause, they have some differences. One of them is their syntactic position. As examples (5) and (6) show the conjunction *a* always follows the coordinated phrase (unless clauses are being conjoined in which case the conjunction *a* ‘and’ does not appear following the main verb but precedes it as it generally happens when any phrases are conjoined); whereas the disjunction *ya* appears in a position immediately preceding the phrase. This statement is also true of clauses for both coordinating words. Consider the following examples:

(9) *Malika universitet-e yakhara a, bibliotek-e yakhara a.

Malika.ABS university-LOC went CONJ library-LOC went CONJ

(‘Malika went to university and library.’)

(10) *Malika universitet-e glur y-u ya, bibliotek-e glur y-u ya.

Malika.ABS university-LOC go.NON-FIN CL2-is or library-LOC go.NON-FIN CL2-is or

(‘Malika will go to university or library.’)

In (9) we can observe an attempt to conjoin two clauses by the use of a conjunction *a* ‘and’ which is placed at the end of each clause immediately following the main verb, however this yields an ungrammatical sentence. Although this is a typical position where this conjunction is found, in case when clauses are linked, it precedes the main verb, never follows it. Similarly,

in (10) the disjunction *ya* links two clauses together but appears in a position following the main verb, which also yields the ungrammatical result. The disjunction *ya* always precedes the phrase that it coordinates.

Another difference concerns their use: the conjunction *a* can never be omitted, while it is possible to omit the disjunction *ya*. Consider the following examples:

(11) *Madina, Karina a tsh'ana fakultet-eh dosh-ush y-u.

Madina.ABS Karina.ABS CONJ same school-LOC study-PRTC CL2-are

'Madina and Karina are studying in the same school.'

(12) *Madina, Karina tsh'ana fakultet-eh dosh-ush y-u.

Madina.ABS Karina.ABS same school-LOC study-PRTC CL2-are

'Madina and Karina are studying in the same school.'

(13) Tanaha, ya khana chekh-b-okkhura b-u as sayn bolh.

today DISJ tomorrow finish-CL6-make CL6-is I.ERG my.GEN work.SG.ABS

'I will finish my work today or tomorrow.'

(14) Tanaha, khana chekh-b-okkhura b-u as sayn bolh.

today tomorrow finish-CL6-make CL6-is I.ERG my.DAT work.SG.ABS

'I will finish my work today or tomorrow.'

In (11) the initial coordinating word *a* is omitted, in (12) both coordinating words are omitted; both sentences are ungrammatical. Similarly, in (13) and (14), the initial disjunction in the first instance and both disjunctions in the second are omitted, however the sentences are grammatical.

Another way of coordination with no use of conjunctions allows linking different types of phrase but not clauses. The suffix *-iy* attaches to each coordinated phrase. This type of coordination is often used to link noun phrases together. Consider examples of coordination of noun phrases and adverbial phrases:

- (15) Madin-iy, Karin-iy, Malik-iy bibliotek-e examen-an
Madina-CONJ Karina-CONJ Malika-CONJ library-LOC exam.SG-DAT
kecham b-an y-ahara.
preparation.SG.ABS CL5-make CL2-went
'Madina, Karina and Malika went to the library to prepare for their exam.'
- (16) H1ints-iy, t1akkh-iy bohush d1a-to'tt-ush d-ara tso
now-CONJ then-CONJ CONJ PRVB-postpone-PRTC CL3-was she.ERG
i g1ullakh.
this.ABS case.SG.ABS
'She was looking for excuses as she didn't want to deal with it.'

If a conjunction *a* and a disjunction *ya* can link more than two phrases or clauses, as examples (1)-(2) and (5)-(8) show, contrastive conjunctions only allow coordination of no more than two clauses, as shown in (3) and (4). If more clauses are coordinated the sentences are ungrammatical:

- (17) *Malika universitet-e y-ahara, tkʔa Karina shkol-e y-ahara,
Malika.ABS university.SG-LOC CL2-went and.CONJ Karina.ABS school-LOC CL2-went
tk1a Madina bibliotek-e y-ahara.
then.CONJ Madina.ABS library.SG-LOC CL2-went
'Malika went to university, Karina went to school, and Madina went to the library.'
- (18) *As h'ehar d-ira tsunna, hette a shen aglor d-ira tso,
I.ERG advice.ABS CL3-made he.DAT but still he.GEN way CL3-make he.ERG
hette a duhal v-ara iza.
but still against CL1-was he.ABS
'I advised him, but he was reluctant to do it, and he did it his way.'

Contrastive conjunctions occur only once in a sentence as in (3) and (4), whereas if clauses (also phrases) are coordinated by use of conjunction *a* or disjunctions *ya*, these coordinating words have to accompany each phrase or clause that they link, as shown in (1) and (2) earlier in this section.

2.1.2 Subordinate clauses in Chechen

The following example illustrates the subordinate clause:

- (19) [Vay hen-ah ara-d-ovla d-ez-iy] haara Madin-in.
we.ABS time-in PRVB-CL3-leave CL2-must-COMP knew Madina-DAT
‘Madina knew that we had to leave in time.’

The matrix clause *haara Madinin* ‘Madina knew’ contains the subordinate clause *vay henah aradovla deziy* ‘that we had to leave in time’ which has a dependency on it. So, these clauses do not share equal status as coordinated clauses do. Subordinate clauses are formed by use of finite as well as non-finite verbs, as we see later in this chapter.

Subordinate clauses in Chechen are introduced by subordinating conjunctions, such as *a'lla* and *bohush* ‘that’ or by use of a bound morpheme *-iy* which attaches to the non-finite verb in a subordinate clause.

The sentence in (19) is an example of a complement clause, a type of subordinate clause; other types, in particular adverbial and relative clauses also found in Chechen. These will be discussed later in this chapter.

2.1.3 Co-subordinate clauses in Chechen

As well as combining clauses by means of coordination and subordination, Chechen also exploits another strategy, known as co-subordination or chaining. This possibility of clause combining was introduced by Foley and Van Valin (1984) and Olson (1981). Consider the following example:

- (20) [Kniga a y-esh-na], [kekhat a yaz-d-(i)na],
 book.SG-ABS CONJ CL2-read-CNVB letter.SG-ABS CONJ write-CL3-CNVB
 dʔa-y-ijira Laila.
 PRVB-CL2-slept Laila.ABS
 ‘Having read a book and written a letter, Laila went to bed.’

In this sentence, *dʔayijira Laila* ‘Laila went to bed’ is the main clause, which contains a finite verb *dʔayijira* ‘went to bed’. The other two clauses *kniga a yeshna* ‘having read a book’ and *kehat a yazdina* ‘having written a letter’ are dependent on the matrix clause, similar to subordinate clauses. However, unlike subordinate clauses, chained clauses are typically linked by a conjunction *a* ‘and’ that is used to conjoin coordinated clauses. Verbs in chained clauses are always non-finite, these are typically converbs, except for the main verb which is finite and occurs in a final clause completing chains of clauses. The discussion of converbs follows later in the chapter.

Unlike coordinated and subordinate clauses, chained clauses are characterized by allowing to link a large number of clauses, as (21) shows:

- (21) [Balh-(a)ra v-ala a v-al-la],
 work-LOC CL1-finish.NON-FIN CONJ CL1-finish-CNVB
 [nana dʔa a kheti-(y)na],
 mother.SG-ABS PRVB CONJ escort-CNVB
 [tuka-n a v-ahana],
 shop.SG-LOC CONJ CL1-go-CNVB
 [tʔakkha shkol-(e)ra bera-sh sh’a a ets-na]
 then school.SG-LOC children.ABS-PL PRVB CONJ take-CNVB
 tsa-v-eara Adam.

home-CL2-came Adam.ABS

‘Having finished his work, taking his mother home, going shopping and taking children from the school, Adam returned home.’

As seen in the previous example, the matrix clause *tsaveara Adam* ‘Adam returned home’ follows chained clauses. The order in which the chained clauses appear in a sentence is semantically determined, i.e. it is impossible to replace any of the clauses and have the same meaning. The order of chained clauses can be changed if the sequence of events is not of any importance but listed as facts that took place in the past. The position of the main clause, however, cannot be changed, as shown in (22):

- (22) *[Ts1a v-eara Adam,] [tʔakkha shkole-ra bera-sh
home CL1-go-CNVB Adam then school.SG-LOC children.ABS-PL
sha a ets-na,] [balha-ra v-ala a v-al-la,]
PRVB CONJ take-CNVB work-LOC CL1-finish.NON-FIN CONJ CL1-finish.CNVB
[nana dʔa a kheti-(i)na] tuka-n a v-ahana.
mother.ABS PRVB CONJ escort-CNVB shop-LOC CONJ CL1-CNVB
(‘Adam went home, picking up his children from the school, finishing his work,
dropping off his mother and going shopping.’)

Here we can observe that the main clause occupies a sentence-initial position with the rest of converbal clauses following, which yields the sentence ungrammatical.

In the remainder of this section, I address the question of how co-subordination is different from conjoined subordinate clauses. For this purpose, some of the main properties which are characteristic of chained clauses are discussed.

Clause chaining is found in many languages and some of them make extensive use of this strategy (Dooley 2010). According to Dooley (2010), chained clauses are characterised by a long sequence of foreground clauses with operator dependence which are also referred to coordinate or ‘quasi-coordinate’ clauses. He refers to the independent clause and the rest of

dependent clauses in chaining as foreground, while there is another type of clauses found in chained clauses which function as adjuncts which are referred to as background clauses; he further argues that ‘foreground-background distinction is a key dimension in the analysis and interpretation of chaining’ (Dooley 2010: 2). The topic of foreground-background clause distinction is far beyond the scope of this thesis therefore will not be discussed any further. For the purpose of clarity, I am referring to foreground clauses and chained clauses interchangeably, as this suffices for the purposes of this thesis.

From the main characteristics of chained clauses is that foreground clauses can occur in extremely long sequences (Dooley 2010). According to Roberts (1988: 48), in Amele, a language spoken in Papua New Guinea, ‘it is not unusual to find up to twenty clauses in a text linked by clause chaining.’ The number of chained clauses that are permissible in Chechen is uncertain, however, we can observe long chains of clauses in the language, as shown in (23):

- (23) Ara a v-a'l-la, mashen-ah garaj-e a v-aha-na,
 out CONJ CL1-go-CNVB car.SG-POST garage.SG-LOC CONJ CL1-go-CNVB
 iza to a y-ayti-na, tsiga-ra glal-in u'kkhe a
 it.SG.ABS mend CONJ CL2-make.CAUS-CNVB there-LOC city.SG-GEN inside CONJ
 v-aha-na, choh o'shu-rg a ets-na, naklost-ash-tsa
 CL1-go-CNVB inside need-NMLZ CONJ buy-CNVB friend-PL-INSTR
 vovshah a khet-ta, tsa-v-akhara iza.
 together CONJ gather-CNVB home-CL1-went he.ABS

‘Having left his house, going to a garage by car, getting it fixed, then going to a city centre, buying everything needed, meeting with his friends, he returned home.’

(lit. ‘Went out, went to a garage on his car, got it fixed, from there he went to a city centre, bought everything needed in the house, met with his friends, he returned home.’)

In this example, we can observe a number of chained clauses which demonstrate a so-called ‘quasi-coordination’, i.e. they are conjoined by means of a conjunction *a* ‘and’, however the clauses cannot stand alone as independent clauses. All chained clauses show similar pattern by being formed with converbs and lacking overt subjects. The main clause always occurs as a final clause in a sentence. The main clause verb is finite and takes an overt subject. The subject can occur elsewhere, more precisely, in the first chained clause, in which case it is omitted from the main clause, as shown in (24):

- (24) Iza ara a v-a'l-la, mashen-ah garaj-e a v-aha-na,
 he.ABS out CONJ CL1-go-CNVB car.SG-LOC garage.SG-LOC CONJ CL1-go-CNVB
 iza to a y-ayti-na, tsiga-ra glal-in u'kkhe a v-aha-na,
 it.SG.ABS mend CONJ CL2-make-CNVB there-LOC city.SG-GEN centre CONJ CL1-go-CNVB
 choh o'shu-rg a ets-na, naklost-ash-tsa vovshah a khet-ta,
 inside need-NMLZ CONJ buy-CNVB friend-PL-INSTR together CONJ gather-CNVB
 tsa-v-akhara.
 home-CL1-went.

‘Having left his house, he went to a garage on his car, got it fixed, then went to a city centre, bought everything needed, met with his friends, he returned home.’

Morpho-syntactic marking of chained clauses varies from language to language; it can include free or clitic conjunctions, some special verbal forms or verbal affixes. As shown in examples (20) through (24), morpho-syntactically chained clauses in Chechen are marked by means of free coordinating conjunction *a* ‘and’ and a special verbal form, i.e. converb.

Another important characteristic of chaining is the sequence of events. As Hopper (1979: 214) points out, ‘the difference between the sentences in the foreground (the ‘main line’ events) and the ones in the background (the ‘shunted’ events) has to do with sequentiality. The foregrounded events succeed one another in the narrative in the same order as their succession

in the real world; it is in other words an iconic order. The backgrounded events, on the other hand, are not in the sequence with the foregrounded events, but are concurrent with them’.

In the event of conjoined subordinate clauses, we see a different scenario. Consider the following example from Chechen:

- (25) Sha ts1e-ra ara-y-a’lla-chul t1a’ha, bolkha-ra
 her.REFL.ERG home-LOC out-CL2-go-CNVB after.CONJ work-LOC
 tsa-v-og1-ush v-olu shen vosha
 home-CL1-go-PRTC CL1-is.NON-FIN her.REFL.GEN. brother.SG.ABS
 du’halkhiytira Sari-na.
 met Sara-DAT

‘After leaving her house, Sara met her brother who was coming home after his work.’

The example shows a complex sentence with an adverbial clause *sha tsera araya’llachul t1a’ha* ‘after leaving her house’ and a relative clause *tsavog1ush volu* ‘who is coming home’. Unlike chained clauses, subordinate clauses cannot be conjoined with any coordinating conjunction³ as *a* ‘and’ which is used to conjoin chaining clauses, as shown in the following example:

- (26) *Sha ts1e-ra ara-y-a’lla-chul t1a’h’a a, bolkha-ra
 her.REFL.ERG home-LOC out-CL2-go-CNVB after.CONJ CONJ work-LOC
 tsa-v-og1-ush v-olu shen vosha
 home-CL1-go-PRTC CL-be.NON-FIN her.REFL.GEN brother.SG.ABS
 du’halkhiytira Sari-na.
 met Sara-DAT

‘After leaving her house, Sara met her brother who was coming home after his work.’

³ The conjunction *a* ‘and’ can be used in some subordinate clauses, more specifically, as means of linking main and adverbial clause, however the conjunction does not show its primary function but for placing an emphasis on what had been reported in an adverbial clause:

1) Shega ottsul diytsi-na doll-ush-eh a, shen ag1or dira tso.
 she.REFL such tell-NON-FIN be-PRTC-CNVB CONJ she.GEN way did. she.ERG
 ‘Although she was advised so many times, she still did it her way.’

In this example, there is a conjunction *a* ‘and’ at the end of the adverbial clause (the position within a clause where it is typically found) which yields the sentence ungrammatical.

As well, long chains of clauses are not possible when subordinate clauses are conjoined. The order in which subordinate clauses occur is not of importance as opposed to chained clauses where the order of clauses corresponds to the order of events as they took place. Consider the following variants of the sentence in (25):

- (27) Bolha-ra tsa-v-og1-ush v-olu shen vosha
work-LOC home-CL1-go-PRTC CL1-be.NON-FIN her.REFL.GEN brother.SG.ABS
du’halkhiytira Sari-na, sha tsera ara-y-a’lla-chul tla’h’a.
met Sara-DAT her.REFL.ERG home-LOC out-CL2-go-CNVB after.CONJ
‘After leaving her house, Sara met her brother who was coming home from work.’

- (28) Sari-na sha ara-y-a’lla-chul tla’h’a,
Sara-DAT her.REFL.ERG home-LOC out-CL2-go-CNVB after.CONJ
bolha-ra tsa-v-og1-ush v-olu shen
work-LOC home-CL1-go-PRTC CL1-be.NON-FIN her.REFL.GEN
vosha du’h’alkhiytirza.
brother.SG.ABS met

‘After leaving her house, Sara met her brother who was coming home from work.’

Describing the chained and subordinate adverbial clauses in Chechen and Ingush, Komen, Molochieva and Nichols (2011) highlighted an important issue with regards to the difference between the true chaining where we are dealing with the chains of converbs and a different type of chains which makes adverbial subordination. There is a list of criteria which must be met for a sentence to qualify for chaining:

1. Chaining converb appears as a predicate

2. There is always a coordinating enclitic *a* which attaches to content that precedes the verb
3. The main verb in a main clause is in a clause initial position
4. Chaining converbs show an anterior and simultaneous distinction, however there is no deictic tense distinctions
5. Main and chained clause have a shared overt argument which occurs in either of the clauses, but crucially not both clauses, and most of the time it is found in the main clause; this is contrary to typical argument coreference where we find an over coreferent present in each clause (reflexive or anaphoric pronoun etc.)

(Komen, Molochieva and Nichols 2011)

2.2 Verbal morphology in Chechen

The verb in Chechen carries much grammatical information, such as tense, aspect, mood, noun gender class (section 1.3.6). This information appears on verbs mainly through affixation but also through changes in verb stems. In this section I will discuss the verb in terms of its transitivity, agreement with its arguments, and finiteness as well as briefly introducing converbs and preverbs.

2.2.1 Intransitive and transitive verbs

Cross-linguistically, verbs are grouped into syntactic sub-classes, the main being intransitive (takes one argument), transitive (takes two arguments) and ditransitive verbs (takes three arguments). According to Magomedov (2000), the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Chechen is not formally marked but indicated by their meaning or according to context. Examples in (29)-(31) illustrate intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs in Chechen respectively:

- (29) Malika dʔa-y-ijira.
Malika.ABS PRVR-CL2-went.to.bed
'Malika went to bed.'
- (30) Adam-as kʔolam iytsira.
Adam-ERG pencil.ABS.SG bought
'Adam bought a pencil.'
- (31) Luiz-as Hamz-ig kʔolam b-elira.
Luiza-ERG Hamza-LOC pencil.ABS.SG CL6-gave
'Luiza gave a pencil to Hamza.'

In (29) the verb *dʔayijira* 'went to bed', being an intransitive verb, takes only one argument, a subject (S) *Malika*, contrasting with the transitive verb in (30), which has two arguments, namely, the subject (A) *Adam* and the object (O) *kʔolam* 'pencil'. In both these examples the verbs do not have any marking that would distinguish them from each other; it is the semantic content that determines whether they are transitive or intransitive. In (31) the verb has three arguments, a subject (S) *Luiza*, a direct object (O) *kʔolam* 'pencil' and an indirect object *Hamza*. There is a small set of 'ambitransitive' verbs (can be both transitive as well as intransitive) in Chechen; for instance, *yeshu* 'read' can take one argument as in *as yoshu* 'I am reading' or two arguments as in *as kniga yoshu* 'I am reading a book'.

2.2.2 Agreement in noun class of arguments

Transitive as well as intransitive verbs (class verbs as opposed to non-class verbs) agree with the noun class of their arguments, both subject and object (section 1.3.5). As Magomedov (2000) observes, class verbs agree with the gender class of their subjects as well as objects. However, even a class verb does not agree with any argument, and the reason for this is the case assignment. Class verbs only agree with arguments (whether a subject or an object) that are assigned an absolutive case while showing no agreement with arguments that are marked with any other case. Subjects in Chechen can be marked with different cases such as absolutive,

ergative or dative, whereas direct objects are exclusively marked with absolutive. Examples below illustrate all three constructions with intransitive (32)-(34) and transitive (35)-(37) verbs respectively.

(32) Madina dʔa-y-ahara.
Madina.ABS PRVB-CL2-left
'Madina left.'

(33) Hamz-as yoshu.
Hamza-ERG reads
'Hamza reads.'

(34) Karin-in dagadogʔu.
Karina-DAT remember
'Karina remembers.'

(35) Luiza bepig d-esh y-u.
⁴Luiza.ABS.CL2 bread.ABS.CL3 CL3-make.PRTC CL2-is
'Luiza is making bread.'

(36) Madina-s bepig d-ira.
Madina-ERG.CL2 bread.ABS.CL3 CL3-made
'Madina made bread.'

(37) Hamzi-n chorpa y-eza.
Hamza-DAT.CL1 soup.ABS.CL2 CL2-want
'Hamza wants some soup.'

In (32) the verb agrees with the subject which is marked with absolutive (class markers are boldfaced). In (33) and (34), where subjects are marked with ergative and dative respectively,

⁴In this example, the noun class markers are marked both on a verb (lexical and auxiliary) as well as its arguments for the purposes of clarity, so that it is easy to determine which of these arguments the lexical verb and auxiliary agree with.

no agreement is observed. In (35)-(37), the verbs agree with the arguments that are assigned absolutive; in relation to arguments that are marked with ergative (36) or dative (37), again verbs show no concord. In (35) the predicate includes a lexical non-finite verb *desh* ‘making’ that agrees with the object *bepig* ‘bread’ and a finite auxiliary *yu* ‘is’ that agrees with the subject *Luiza* ‘Luiza’. Here both arguments, the subject and object, are marked with absolutive, so in this instance, the main verb agrees in noun class with both of its arguments. When a subject is assigned any other case, the main verb (whether lexical or lexical with an auxiliary) always agrees in noun class with its direct object (which is marked with absolutive). The examples (36) and (37) illustrate this, where the subjects *Madinas* ‘Madina’ and *Hamzin* ‘Hamza’ are marked with ergative and dative respectively, therefore we can observe no inflections on the verbs that show agreement with the subjects; instead, the main verbs show agreement with their direct objects *bepig* ‘bread’ and *chorpa* ‘soup’, both marked with absolutive.

2.2.3 Finite and non-finite verbs

Finiteness can be difficult to define as there is a number of morphosyntactic categories which a verb can be inflected with, and therefore a single morphosyntactic property in any given language cannot serve as a criterion for finiteness for all languages, as it will vary from language to language. In Chechen, tense is the only morphosyntactic category that can be used to distinguish a finite clause from a non-finite, as non-finite verbs can be inflected with other morphosyntactic categories such as aspect or noun class. However, even the category of tense is not exhaustive as some of the finite and non-finite verb forms can be homophonous. I return to this below.

The following examples show finite and non-finite verbs in Chechen:

- (38) Selhana tserg lez-ira san chog?a.
yesterday tooth.ABS.SG was.in.pain I.GEN very
‘I had a bad toothache yesterday.’ (lit. ‘my tooth was aching yesterday’)

- (39) Madina g?ala y-o’d-ush y-u.

Madina.ABS city.ABS.SG CL2-go-PRTC CL2-is

‘Madina is going to the city.’

The clause in (38) is finite and contains a finite verb *lezira* ‘ached’. The clause in (39) is also finite, and the main verb comprises a tensed auxiliary *yu* ‘is’ and a non-finite participial verb *yo’dush* which lacks tense. Both verbs are marked with a noun class of the main subject *Madina*. However, as already mentioned, agreement in a noun class cannot serve as a criterion for determining the finiteness of a verb as non-finite verbs (as well as finite verbs) agree in the noun class with their arguments, as long as they belong to class verbs (section 1.3.6 has a discussion of class verbs and agreement).

From non-finite verbs both infinitives and participles occur in Chechen. The infinitives are characterised by a suffix *-aⁿ* which occurs as a suffix (Nichols 1994a: 62), as in *al-aⁿ* ‘to say’ or *dazd-aⁿ* ‘to write’ (a verb form that is cited in dictionary entries); the participles have the suffix *-chu* or *-ush* as in *yisthulu-chu* ‘talking’ or *d?avod-ush* ‘leaving’. More discussion of participles and the distinction between these two suffixes follow in a later section. The sentences in (40)-(42) are examples of infinitives and participles in Chechen:

(40) Zalin-in [deshaⁿ] la’a.
Zalina-DAT read.INF wants
‘Zalina wants to study.’

(41) Madin-in [tort y-aⁿ] la’a.
Madina-DAT cake.ABS.SG CL2-make.INF wants
‘Madina wants to make a cake.’

(42) Karina khana halhara-chu klass-e y-od-ush y-u.
Karina.ABS tomorrow first-LOC stage.LOC.SG CL2-go-PRTC CL2-is
‘Karina will start her primary school tomorrow.’

In (40) *deshaⁿ* ‘to read’ is an infinitive and it has no inflections. In (41) however, the infinitive *yaⁿ* ‘to make’ agrees in noun class with its O *tort* ‘cake’. In (42) the verb is a participle, which

is marked with a morpheme *-ush*, attached to it in a form of a suffix; it agrees in a noun class with its subject *Karina*. As noted earlier, infinitives and participles are not the only non-finite verb forms that occur in Chechen. Another type of verbal form that is extensively used in the language is a converb, which is discussed in the next section.

The examples above illustrated finite and non-finite verb forms; however, it is not always unproblematic to distinguish between the two. As Ganenkov and Maisak (2021) in their description of Nakh-Dagestanian languages, pointed out, ‘the distinction between finite and non-finite forms is not always straightforward. On one hand, some verb forms have a clear status and are used only in syntactically independent, root, clauses where they appear in the indicative or imperative. Other verb forms are only found in certain types of subordinate clause (infinitives in purpose or complement clauses, converbs in adverbial clauses, participles in relative clauses etc.). On the other hand, in many, if not most, languages of the family syncretism between finite and non-finite forms is observed with either one or several verb forms.’ For instance, in Chechen we can observe such a syncretism between the present perfect form of a verb and an anterior converb, as the following examples illustrate:

(43) So vaha-na tsiga.

I.ABS have.been-PRES.PERF there

‘I have been there.’

(44) Universitet-e a vaha-na, ts1avahara iza.

university-LOC CONJ go-ANT.CNVB home.went he.ABS

‘Having gone to university, he went home.’

In (43) the main verb *vahana* ‘have been’ is finite and it is inflected with present perfect suffix *-na*, as opposed to a verb form *vahana* ‘go’ in (44) which is non-finite and marked with a converbal suffix *-na*.

As the data from the languages of Nakh-Dagestanian languages show, ‘perfect or past tense forms can be identical to perfective converbs or participles, while present and future tense forms can be identical to imperfective converbs or participles (or to infinitives, in the case of

future tenses'. (Ganenkov and Maisak 2021). As Ganenkov and Maisak (2021) note that this syncretism can be related to some historical reasons in which case the homophony of non-finite and finite verb forms can be obvious, but it can also be accidental as often the relation between these verb forms is very obscure.

2.2.4 Converbs

Converbs are found in many languages and form adverbial clauses. However, as Nedjalkov (1998) observes, in addition to functioning as adverbials converbs can also be used as non-adverbials; the view that is not supported by Haspelmath (1995: 5) who claims, 'it is, of course, possible to define the term converb in this way, but I prefer a narrower definition because only a non-finite adverbial subordination form could be said to be a 'verbal adverb', and the term converb seems ideally suited to fill the 'verbal adverb' position.' These verb forms are mainly found in verb final languages and are described as having a 'stem-plus-suffix' structure (Longacre 1985, Haspelmath 1995). As Haspelmath (1996) points out, the 'stem-plus-suffix' structure is explained by the fact that cross-linguistically the use of suffixes is more preferred over prefixes and also because the converbs are mainly found in verb-final languages which have much stronger tendency for using suffixes over prefixes. Some languages might have one or two converbs (e.g. Darma (Willis 2007)); whereas others have a large number of them (an example is Nivkh, a Paleoasiatic language spoken in the Eastern Siberia (Nedjalkov 1998)).

Zúñiga (1998) points out that it is not unproblematic to provide a satisfactory definition of a converb because languages display considerable diversity in relation to the formal grammatical properties that converbs express. Bisang (1995: 141) defines converbs as 'verb forms that are specialized for the expression of adverbial subordination, but cannot form a sentence on their own, i.e. they do not occur as main predicates of independent clauses'. I am using the definition provided by Haspelmath (1994) (which suffices for the purposes of this thesis) who defines a

converb as ‘a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination. Another way of putting it is that converbs are verbal adverbs just like participles are verbal adjectives.’

The term converb comes from the Altaicist tradition and has been adopted to typological studies to replace complex terms such as conjunctive participial or adverbial participial when referring to non-finite verb forms which resemble adverbs (Haspelmath 1994: 153; 1995a: 3-4; 1996: 50).

As Haspelmath (1996) notes, there has not been enough research around the topic of converbs in cross-linguistic perspective though it had been studied in individual languages, and many languages have a category which is unambiguous and is clearly different from other non-finite verbal forms. An instance would be Russian, where a converb is called *deeprichastie*; thus, this term has been adopted by many languages which had been influenced by Russian including the languages of Caucasus, northern and Central Asia (Haspelmath 1996). Cross-linguistically though the term has not been popular since converbs are not found in European languages such as Classical Greek or Latin, therefore in the framework of Western traditional grammar there was no term for a converb (Haspelmath 1996). As the author notes, it has been suggested that the way to understand the nature of converbs is to describe them as a combination of a verb and a complementizer however this was seen just as an attempt to fit this unfamiliar category into the European language paradigm where adverbial conjunctions are used instead of converbs (Haspelmath 1996).

Converbs are found in many different languages, and here are some examples:

(45) I kopela ton kitak-s-e xamojel-ondas. (Greek)
the girl him look-AOR-3SG smile-CNVB
‘The girl looked at him smiling.’

(46) Saul-ei tek-ant, pasiek-è-m kryžkel-e. (Lithuanian)
sun-DAT rise-CNVB reach-PAST-LPL cross.roads-ACC

- ‘When the sun rose, we reached a crossroads.’ (lit. ‘The sun rising ...’)
(47) A-chim mek-ko hakkyo ey kassey jo. (Korean)
breakfast eat-CNVB school to went PT
‘I ate breakfast and went to school.’

(Haspelmath 1996: 1-2)

Converbs in Chechen are characterized by expressing the function of adverbials, such as purpose, manner and cause among others. As well as forming adverbial clauses, converbs in Chechen also occur in chained clauses, as noted earlier. The chained clauses are described as combining the properties of both subordination and coordination in that there is a dependency between clauses similar to subordinate clauses however, they are not embedded but co-ranked, similar to coordinate clauses (Foley 2010: 28) (section 2.1)⁵

Converbs are formed by attaching the converbal suffix to the verb stem. These suffixes often carry the semantic content replacing prepositions such as *before* or *until* in English. Consider the examples in (48) and (49):

- (48) [So y-all-alt] vay-(g)ah sats-ah.
I.ABS CL2-finish-IMMED.ANT.CNVB we.LOC stay.PRES.POL.IMPER
‘Stay at our place until I finish.’
(49) [So sh’a-khacha-lie] d?a-y-ahnera iza.
I.ABS PRVB-arrive-POST.CNVB PRVB-CL2-left she.ABS
‘She had left before I arrived.’

In (48) the subordinate clause *so ya’llalts* ‘until I finish’ contains the immediate anterior converbal suffix, *-lalts*, which attaches to the verb stem. Its meaning corresponds to the meaning of a preposition *until* in English. In (49), the posterior converbal suffix *-lie* attaches to the verb stem in a similar fashion and has the meaning of the preposition *before*. Both verb forms are non-finite as they do not inflect for tense. However, similar to other non-finite verbs, converbs show concord with their arguments, as example (48) shows.

⁵ When using the term, I am referring to the whole verb, not just the suffix.

The syntactic position of converbs is rigid, always preceding the main clause (and often immediately preceding the main clause subject), irrespective of the temporal relation between the converb and the main verb.

Converbs differ according to their ability to take a subject. Subjects may be either present or absent from adverbial clauses. Haspelmath (1994) and Nedjalkov (1995) categorized converbs into three relatively similar groups, based on their ability to take a subject: those that share a subject with a main verb in the associated clause, so called ‘same-subject’ or ‘implicit subject converbs’, as in (50); those that have a different subject from that in the main clause, i.e. ‘different-subject’ converbs, as in (51); and lastly, converbs that can either take the same subject as the main clause verb or have their own subject, so-called ‘varying-subject’ converbs as shown in (52) and (53). There are some languages which make a distinction between marking same-subject converbs and different-subject-converbs, while there is no such a distinction in other languages (Amha and Dimmendaal, 2006). Chechen belongs to the latter group as same-subject and different-subject converbs are marked identically in this language, which is also shown in the following examples:

(50) [Sha mokʔa y-al-cha] telefon tuhu-r y-u
 she.REFL free CL2-be-TEMP.CNVB phone.SG.ABS call-NON-FIN CL2-is
 tsunga Luiza-s.
 she.LOC Luiza-EGR

‘Luiza will give her a call once she is free.’

(51) [Luiza_i shega_j y-isthilla-chul tʔaha], dʔa-y-hara Madina_j.
 Luiza.ABS she.REFL.LOC CL2-talk-POSTP.CNVB after PRVB-CL2-went Madina.ABS
 ‘Having listened to Luiza, Madina left.’

(52) [Sha tsakha’chna-chul tʔaha] Madina urok-ash
 she.REFL home.reach-POSTP.CNVB after Madina.ABS homework.ABS-PL
 y-an oh’a-hiira.
 CL2-make.NON-FIN PRVB-sat

‘After arriving home Madina started doing her homework.’

(53) [Madina tsakha’chna-chul tʔaha] Karina dʔa-y-ahara.

Madina.ABS home.reach-POSTP.CNVB after Karina.ABS PRVB-CL2-went

‘After Madina came home, Karina left.’

The following example shows when a converb may not take an explicit subject, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. This is true regardless of whether the subject of the converb is co-referenced with the main subject or not.

- (54) *[Tso_{i;j} tsakha'chna-chul tʔa'ha] Madina_i urok-ash
 she.REFL.ERG home.reach-POSTP.CNVB after Madina.ABS homework-PL
 y-an oha-hiira.
 CL2-make PRVB-sat

(‘As soon as she got home, Madina started doing her homework.’)

In case when the reflexive pronoun is used instead of a personal pronoun, the sentence is grammatical, and has the same meaning, as its subjectless counterpart in (55):

- (55) [Sha_i tsakha'chna-chul tʔa'ha] Madina_i urok-ash
 she.REFL home.reach-POSTP.CNVB after Madina.ABS homework-PL
 y-an oha-hiira.
 CL2-make PRVB-sat

(‘As soon as she came home, Madina started doing her homework.’)

The referential control of converbal subjects may be expressed in different ways, most commonly these are switch control or subject control (Haspelmath 1994).

- (56) [Iza_i mokʔa y-al-cha] telefon tuh-ur y-u
 she.REFL.ABS free CL2-be-TEMP.CNVB phone.SG.ABS call-NON-FIN CL2-is
 tsunga_i Luiza-s_j.
 she.LOC Luiza-ERG

(‘When she becomes available, Luiza will give her a call.’)

- (57) [Elina_i shega_j y-isthilla-chul tʔaha], dʔa-y-hara Madina_j.
 Elina.ABS she.REFL.LOC CL2-talk-POSTP.CNVB after PRVB-CL2-left Madina.ABS
 ‘Having listened to Elina, Madina left.’

- (58)*[Madina_i tsakha'chna-chul tʔa'ha] tso_i urok-ash
 Madina.ABS home.reach-POSTP.CNVB after she.REFL.ERG homework.ABS-PL
 y-an oha-hiira.

CL2-make PRVB-sat

(‘As soon as Madina came home, she (Madina) started doing her homework.’)

- (59) [Madina_i tsakha’chna-chul tʔa’ha] iza_j urok-ash
Madina.ABS home.reach-POSTP.CNVB after she.REFL homework.ABS-PL
y-an oha-hiira.

CL2-make PRVB-sat

‘As soon as Madina got home, she (not Madina) started doing her homework.’

- (60) [Madina_i tsakhachna-chul tʔaha] Karina_j dʔa-y-ahara.
Madina.ABS home.reach-POSTP.CNVB after Karina.ABS PRVB-CL2-left

‘After Madina returned home Karina left.’

As the examples above demonstrate, the reflexive pronouns are extensively used in verbal constructions.

We have seen examples of participles formed with the suffixes *-ush* and *-chu*; however, it is worth mentioning that these two suffixes can also form converbs. And, in fact, this observation was made by Nedjalkov (1998), who claimed that some converbs can be formed from other non-finite verb forms, as he found it to be the case in Even, a Tungusic language spoken in Siberia. Although it is not entirely clear why this is the case in Chechen, it can be assumed that the suffixes which originally used to form participles underwent the process of grammaticalization and later could form both participles and converbs. These examples illustrate the use of the suffixes *-chu* and *-ush* as participles in (61)-(62) and converbs in (63)-(64), respectively:

- (61)[Sih-y-ella shkol-e y-o’du-chu] Madini-na shena
rush-CL2-be.NON-FIN school.SG-LOC CL2-go-PRTC Madina-DAT she.REFL.DAT
h’eharho duhal-khiytira.

teacher.SG.ABS PRVB-met

‘Madina met her teacher while she was in rush on her way to school.’

(lit. ‘Madina who was rushing to her school met her teacher.’)

- (62) [Kehat d-osh-ush y-olu] yo? tsa’hhana y-sthilira.
letter.SG.ABS CL3-read-PRTC CL2-be.NON-FIN girl.ABS suddenly CL2-spoke
‘The girl, who was reading a letter, spoke up suddenly.’

- (63) [So gʔala y-o’du-chu henah] duhal-khiytira suna Madina.
I.ABS city.SG.LOC CL2-go-TEMP.CNVB when.CONJ PRVB-met I.DAT Madina.ABS
‘On my way to the capital, I met Madina.’

(lit. ‘I met Madina when I was going to the city.’)

- (64) [So y-od-ush hilah] as hayuitar d-u ho’ga.
I.ABS CL2-go-SIM.CNVB if.CONJ I.ABS know.NON-FIN CL3-be you.LOC
‘I will let you know if I go.’

In (61) through (64) we are dealing with different types of adjunct clauses: relative clauses in (61)-(62) and adverbial clauses of time and condition in (63) and (64) respectively. In the first two sentences the participles *yoduchu* ‘going’ and *doshush* ‘reading’ modify the head nouns *Madinina* and *yoI* ‘girl’ in the main clauses. In the last two sentences, the participial suffixes function as converbal suffixes and in combination with the postpositions *henah* ‘when’ and *hilah* ‘if’ they form adverbial clauses of time and condition, therefore modifying the whole main clause, as opposed to participles in the first two examples that modify only head nouns in main clauses. Table 2 contains a comprehensive list of converbal suffixes in Chechen; it is based on Good (2003) and Molochieva (2008).

The following table contains the most frequently used converb suffixes, including the verb stems which these suffixes get attached to.

Table 2 Chechen converb suffixes ((based on Good (2003) and Molochieva (2008))

Types of converbs	Morphology		Semantics	Example (haza ‘to hear’)
	Suffix	Stem		
CNVB simultaneous	PRES	-ush	‘while, when’	vo’du plus - (u)sh=>vo’dush

CNVB anterior	INF	<i>-na</i>	‘having done’	vaha plus <i>-na=>vahna</i>
CNVB temporal	PRES PERF/PRES	<i>-cha/-chu</i>	‘when’	vahana plus <i>-cha=>vahcha;</i> vo’du plus <i>-chu=>vo’duchu</i>
CNVB temporal with postposition <i>henah</i> ‘when’	PRES PERF	<i>-nachu</i>	‘while’, ‘at the moment when’	vahana plus <i>-nachu</i> <i>=>vahnachu henah</i>
CNVB posterior	INF	<i>-lie</i>	‘before/until’	vaha plus <i>-lie=>vahalie</i>
CNVB immediate anterior	INF	<i>-alts</i>	‘until’	vaha plus <i>-alts=>vahhalts</i>
CNVB irrealis potential, conditional	PRES	<i>-ah</i>	‘if’	vo’du plus <i>-ah=>vo’dah</i>
CNVB comparative	PRES/PRES PERF	<i>-chol/-chul</i>	‘than, compared to’	vo’du plus <i>-chul=>vo’duchul;</i> vahana plus <i>-chul=>vahanachul</i>
CNVB irrealis past	PRES PERF	<i>-niah</i>	‘if only’	vahana plus <i>-niah=>vahaniah</i>
CNVB with postposition <i>t1ah’a</i>	PRES PERF	<i>-chul</i>	‘after’	vahana plus <i>-chul=>vahanachul</i> <i>t1ah’a</i>
CNVB locative 1/locative 2	PRES PERF	<i>-chie</i> <i>-chieh/-chah</i>	‘where’ (also direction)	vahana plus <i>-chie=>vahanachie;</i> vahana plus <i>-chah=>vahanachah</i>

2.2.5 Preverbs

Verbs in Chechen can also be made into complex verbs by attaching preverbs to them, such as *d?a-* ‘away from a speaker’, *sha-* ‘toward a speaker’, *chu-* ‘in’ and *ara-* ‘out’, among others (Nichols 1994a: 36). These appear as prefixes on lexical verbs and add an additional meaning, for instance, *v-akha* CL1-go.INF ‘to go’ becomes *d?a-v-akha* PRVB-CL1-go.INF ‘go away, leave’ or *v-aⁿ* CL1-come.INF ‘come’ with the attached preverb *sha* changes into *sha-v-aⁿ* PRVB-CL1-come.INF ‘come toward a speaker’. Preverbs normally get attached to verbs; however, they are detached if any of elements such as interrogative words (*matsa* ‘when’ or *mila* ‘who’) or negative particles (*tsa/ma* ‘not’) are present (Nichols 1994a: 36), as examples show:

(65) Iza dʔa tsa v-akhar.

he.ABS PRVB not CL1-left

‘He did not leave.’

(66) Iza dʔa matsa v-akhar?

he.ABS PRVB when CL1-left

‘When did he go?’

2.3 Types of subordinate clause: a brief introduction to complement, adverbial and relative clauses in Chechen

In this section, I briefly discuss types of subordinate clause, more specifically complement, adverbial and relative clauses. Each type is distinct from the other in their relations with main clauses, clause-internal structure and types of verb that form these constructions. The remainder of this chapter briefly looks at each type and introduces their main characteristics and the differences between them.

2.3.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses function as arguments of verbs such as ‘like’, ‘want’, ‘know’, etc. (Dixon 2008). In Chechen these are verbs such as, *laa* ‘want’, *haa* ‘know’, *gaⁿ* ‘see’, *dagadaⁿ* ‘remember’ and *motta* ‘think’, which take clauses as their arguments, for instance:

(67) Suna laa [Karina y-aiyta].

I.DAT want Karina.ABS CL2-come.CAUS.NON-FIN

‘I want Karina to come.’

(68) [Sha_i dikanig do] mo’tt-ush v-ara iza_i.

himself.ERG.REFL good do think-PTCP CL1-was he.ABS

‘He thought that he was doing a good thing.’

(69) Madin-in [Karina novkʔ-a y-ol-ush] gira.

Madina-DAT Karina.ABS way-LOC CL2-go-PTCP saw

‘Madina saw Karina leaving.’

The examples show that there is a variation in the syntactic position of the complement clause (in brackets) within the sentence; in (67) the complement clause follows the matrix verb *laa* ‘want’, while the complement clauses in (68) and (69) precede the matrix verbs *mo’ttush vara* ‘thought’ and *gira* ‘saw’ respectively. In fact, the more typical position of a complement clause within a sentence is preceding the main verb. They rarely occur in post-verbal position as in (67), and in some cases this is even impermissible.

Clause-internally the clauses show similar word order, i.e. verbs follow their arguments. In fact, other word orders almost never occur in Chechen embedded clauses except for relative clauses, as we will see later in this chapter. In (67) and (69) the subjects in embedded clauses are proper nouns, whereas in (68) it is a reflexive pronoun *sha* ‘himself’ which is co-indexed with a subject in the main clause. This, so-called ‘canonical long-distance reflexivization’, as Nichols (2000: 255) refers to it, is very common in clause combining in Chechen (as well as Ingush). One of the striking features of reflexive pronouns is that they never occur in main clauses when within a complex sentence, as (70) shows:

- (70) *[Iza dikanig do] mo’tt-ush v-ara sha.
 he.ABS good do.PRES think-PRTC CLI-be.PAST himself.ERG.REFL
 (‘He thought that he was doing a good thing.’)

The sentence in (70) is a version of that in (68); the only difference is that the pronoun and reflexive are interchanged, and this makes the sentence ungrammatical.

However, they do occur in independent clauses along with personal pronouns. Although there can be a single reflexive pronoun co-occurring with the personal pronoun; however, typically we find two reflexive pronouns each inflected with a different case. The following examples illustrate both cases:

- (71) Tso shen tuykhira.
 he.ABS himself.REFL.DAT hit
 ‘He hurt himself.’

- (72) Tso sha shen tuykhira.
 he.ABS himself.REFL.ABS himself.REFL.DAT hit
 ‘He hurt himself.’

These examples are identical except that the clause in (71) contains a single reflexive pronoun *shen* ‘himself’ marked with dative, whereas in (72) we are dealing with some kind of a ‘double’ reflexive construction *sha shen* ‘himself himself’, where the first reflexive is marked with absolutive and the second – with dative.

Reflexive pronouns never occur in independent clauses on their own, without being accompanied with personal pronouns:

- (73)*Shen tuykhira.
 himself.REFL.DAT hit
 ‘He hurt himself.’

- (74)*Sha shen tuykhira.
 himself.REFL.ABS himself.REFL.DAT hit
 ‘He hurt himself.’

More examples of reflexives in adverbial and relative clauses follow later in this chapter.

In sentences containing a complement clause, the internal structure of main clauses is subject to some variation. When the main verb precedes the embedded clause, or the latter is centrally positioned within the main clause, the normal SV word order occurs as in (67) and (68); however, if the main verb follows the embedded clause, SV pattern changes into VS as in (68), and is ungrammatical otherwise:

- (75) *[Sha dikanig do] iza mott-ush v-ara.
 he.REFL.ERG good do.NON-FIN he.ABS think-PRTC CL1-was
 (‘He thought that he was doing a good thing.’)

Complement clauses can be finite as well as non-finite. Non-finite complement clauses are formed with infinitives and participles. Infinitives are distinguished by a suffix (*-a*, *-aⁿ*) that appears on a verb stem, as in (76) and (77):

- (76) Yusuf-an [dʔa-v-ij-a] la’a.
 Yusuf-DAT PRVB-CL1-lie-INF wants
 ‘Yusuf wants to sleep.’

- (77) Karina [Kʔor’an dag-ah ʔama-d-aⁿ] lu-ush y-u.

Karina.ABS Quran.ABS heart-LOC learn-CL3-INF want-PRTC CL2-is

‘Karina wants to learn the Quran by heart.’

Participles are formed with two different suffixes *chu* and *-ush/-esh* which are also attached to a verb stem. The participles that are formed with the suffix *-chu* do not occur in complement clauses but are found in relative clauses which are discussed in a later section. The participles with the suffix *-ush/-esh* on the other hand, can form complement clauses, and these are complements to verbs, as illustrated in (78):

(78) [As kehat d-osh-ush] gira tsunna.

I.ERG letter.SG.ABS CL3-read-PRTC saw she.DAT

‘She saw me reading the letter.’

Although both infinitives and participles are not marked for tense and aspect, they generally show an agreement with their subjects (76) as well as objects as in (77) and (78) respectively. In (76) the complement clause consists of a single infinitive *dʔavija* ‘lay down’ which agrees in a noun class with its notional subject *Yusuf*. *Yusufan* is a class 1 noun, so the verb is marked with an affix *v-*. In (77) the infinitive *ʔamadaⁿ* is marked with class 3 of its direct object *Kʔor’an* ‘Quran’. In (78) the verb is a participle *doshush* ‘reading’, which is inflected with a noun class of its object *kehat* ‘letter’ which belongs to class 3.

The finite complement clauses in Chechen are illustrated by the following examples, which illustrate indirect speech:

(79) Tso [sha universitet-e desha v-od-ush
he.REFL.ERG he.REFL.ERG university.SG-LOC study.INF CL2-go-PRTC
v-u] bahara.

CL2-be.NON-FIN. said

‘He said that he is going to study at university.’

(80) [Sha y-ogʔu elira tso.

she.REFL.ABS CL2-comes said she.ERG

‘She said that she is coming.’

There are also two subordinate conjunctions, *a’lla* and *bohush* which function similar to a complementizer ‘that’ in English:

(81) Suna heta [Yusuf mats-v-ella a'lla].

I.DAT think Yusuf.ABS hungry-CL1-is CONJ

'I think that Yusuf is hungry.'

(82) Hamzi-n heznera, [Medin-eh dika universitet y-u bohush].

Hamza-DAT heard Medina-LOC good university.SG.ABS CL2-is CONJ

'Hamza learnt that there is a very good university in Madina.'

As examples show, both complementizers occupy clause final positions. Although the conjunctions show similarities in terms of syntax and semantics, they also show some differences. More detailed discussion of this follows in a chapter on complementation.

There is also a particular suffix *-y* that attaches to a verb in a complement clause and functions as a complementizer. The suffix is homophonous with the interrogative morpheme that is used to form yes/no questions in Chechen. Consider the following examples:

(83) Sotsa bibliotek-e v-og?i-y h'o?

I.INSTR library.SG-LOC CL1-come-QM you.ABS

'Would you like to go to the library with me?'

(84) Suna ha'a [Karini-g desha-lur du-y].

I.DAT know Karina-LOC study-NON-FIN is-COMP

'I know that Karina will manage with her studies.'

While in (83) the suffix signals a question, in (84) it marks the subordinate clause, and translates into English as 'that'.

Nominalizations also form complement clauses. The following are examples of nominalizations formed by the addition of suffix *-m* to a verb stem, as shown in (85), and another type which is formed with a suffix *-r*, as illustrated in (86):

(85) Haa-m b-an b-eza vay tsarga.

knowledge.ABS-NMLZ CL5-make CL5-have.PRES we.ABS they.LOC

'We have to let them know.'

- (86) Khana ben d-aha-r tsa hulu vay-n tsiga.
tomorrow only CL3-go-NMLZ.ABS not is we-GEN there
'We can go there only tomorrow.'

The nominalization *haam* in (85) is formed from a verb *haa* 'to know'; similarly, the nominalization *dahar* in (86) is formed from a verb *daha* 'to go'. Although showing some similarities, the two types of nominalization fundamentally differ from each other in terms of showing some distinct properties as well as their distribution within a clause.

First, both of the forms have nominal as well as verbal properties. In terms of similarities, they do not show tense or aspect markers – properties that are typical of verbs; also, like nouns, both types of nominalization can be inflected with case; so, *haam* 'knowledge' in (85) and *dahar* 'going' in (86) are both marked with absolutive. Another similarity to nouns is that both forms can be modified by adjectives:

- (87) Haza haa-m.
beautiful knowledge-NMLZ.ABS
'Good news'

- (88) Siha d-aha-r.
quick CL3-going-NMLZ.ABS
'Going quickly' (lit. 'quick going')

Conversely, they show some differences in relation to number and noun class. Thus, nominalization in (85) can be pluralized, *haama-sh*, while the nominalization in (86) cannot, **dahar-sh*; on the other hand, the former cannot be inflected with gender class, while the latter form can be marked with a gender class (if a verb that the nominalization is formed from is a class verb, section 1.3.5). What makes these two forms more distinct from one another is their distribution within a clause. The nominalization of a type in (85) behaves more like a noun, i.e. has a plural form, belongs to a particular gender class, so a verb to which it is an argument is normally marked with a gender class; so, as example (85) shows, the verb *ban beza* 'have to make' is marked with class 5 which the nominalization *haam* 'knowledge' belongs to.

Nominalizations can be used to form complement clauses, as shown in (85) and (86); however, they often appear in adverbial clauses as well:

(89) [Sha reza hila-r] haiytira tso.
she.REFL.ABS pleased be-NMLZ.ABS let.know she.ERG
'She let know that she was pleased.'

(90) [San v-aha-r hilah], hoyuitura d-u shuga.
I.GEN CL1-going-NMLZ.ABS if let.know CL3-is you.LOC
'I will let you know if I am going.'

Nominalizations appear in a position that is normally occupied by a noun phrase. So, in (89) a bracketed clause is in object position, and it is a complement to the main verb *haiytira* 'let know'. This becomes clearer if we replace the clause containing nominalization with a pronoun *iza* 'this'.

(91) Iza haiytira tso.
this.ABS let.know she.ERG
'She let know/informed about this.'

A more detailed discussion of nominalizations is offered in Chapter 6.

2.3.2 Adverbial clauses

Complement clauses are distinguished from other embedded clauses – adverbial and relative clauses – which are not complements but rather function as modifiers (Tallerman 2015: 87, 93). Adverbial clauses can be of different types, for instance, temporal or locative as well as manner and purpose clauses (Noonan 1985: 43).

Adverbial clauses in Chechen have some distinct features. Most importantly, they are typically non-finite and are formed with converbs which express a range of meanings such as condition or manner, therefore adding to the meaning of adverbial clause (except for purpose and reason clauses which show various ways of formation; these two types are discussed in chapter 4):

(92) [Ahcha hil-ah] otsar d-u vay haza tsa.
money.SG.ABS be.CNVB buy.NON-FIN CL3-is we.ERG beautiful house.SG.ABS

‘If we have money we will buy a nice house.’

(93) [Hala d-el-ah a] d-aⁿ d-ez-ash d-u iza.
difficult CL3-be-CNVB CONJ CL3-do.INF CL3-must-PRTC CL3-is it.ABS.SG

‘Although it is difficult, it needs to be done.’

(94) [H’o yaahuma y-aⁿ y-ola-y-al-ale halha] haiyतालहा सोगा.
you.ABS food.ABS CL2-make CL2-start-CL2-start-CNVB before know.let I.LOC

‘Let me know before you start cooking.’

Sentences in (92) through (94) show that each converbal suffix expresses particular meaning.

In (92) *-ah* adds the meaning of a conditional therefore forming a conditional ‘if’ clause. In

(93) a concessive converbal suffix *-elah* is used, forming an ‘although’ adverbial clause. In

(94) an anterior suffix *-ale* makes a temporal adverbial clause.

Adverbial clauses are often introduced by subordinating conjunctions or postpositions such as *tsul tlaha* ‘after’, *hunda alcha* ‘because’, *halha* ‘before’, *tsundela* ‘therefore’ and *sanna* ‘as’. In (94) a converb is used with a postposition *halha* ‘before’, which may or may not be present.

The word order in adverbial clauses is typically S(O)V, as shown in (95). The order is in fact rather rigid, i.e. other word orders are generally not allowed, including VSO, VOS, OVS, SVO as shown in examples (96)-(99). However, OSV word order (as shown in (100)) is possible under certain pragmatic conditions, for examples if there is a sequence of clauses expressing some kind of contrast.

(95) [Tso examen d1al-ah], da-nanas dokkha sovg1at SOV
he.ABS exam.SG.ABS give-CNVB mother-father.ABS big present.SG.ABS
di-yr d-u tsunna.
make-NON-FIN CL3-is he-DAT

‘If he passes the exam, he will get a big present from his parents.’

(96) #[Examen tso d1al-ah], da-nanas dokkha sovg1at

exam.SG.ABS he.ABS give-CNVB mother-father.ABS big present.SG.ABS
di-yr d-u tsunna.

make-NON-FIN CL3-is he-DAT

‘If he passes the exam, he will get a big present from his parents.’

(97) *[D1al-ah tso examen], da-nanas dokkha sovglat

give-CNVB he.ABS exam.SG.ABS mother-father.ABS big present.SG.ABS

di-yr d-u tsunna.

make-NON-FIN CL3-is he-DAT

‘If he passes the exam, he will get a big present from his parents.’

(98) *[D1al-ah examen tso], da-nanas dokkha sovglat

give-CNVB exam.SG.ABS he.ABS mother-father.ABS big present.SG.ABS

di-yr d-u tsunna.

make-NON-FIN CL3-is he-DAT

‘If he passes the exam, he will get a big present from his parents.’

(99) *[Examen d1al-ah tso], da-nanas dokkha sovglat

exam.SG.ABS give-CNVB he.ABS mother-father.ABS big present.SG.ABS

di-yr d-u tsunna.

make-NON-FIN CL3-is he-DAT

‘If he passes the exam, he will get a big present from his parents.’

(100) *[Tso d1al-ah examen], da-nanas dokkha sovglat

he.ABS give-CNVB exam.SG.ABS mother-father.ABS big present.SG.ABS

di-yr d-u tsunna.

make-NON-FIN CL3-is he-DAT

‘If he passes the exam, he will get a big present from his parents.’

Conversely, in main clauses the word order is quite flexible, as shown in examples (101)-(105):

- (101) [Tso examen d1al-ah], dokkha sovg1at di-yr d-u OVSiO
he.ABS exam.SG.ABS give-CNVB big present.SG.ABS make-NON-FIN CL3-is
da-nanas tsunna.
mother-father.ABS he-DAT

‘If he passes the exam, he will get a big present from his parents.’

- (102) [Tso examen d1al-ah], dokkha sovg1at da-nanas OSViO
he.ABS exam.SG.ABS give-CNVB big present.SG.ABS mother-father.ABS
di-yr d-u tsunna.
make-NON-FIN CL3-is he-DAT

‘If he passes the exam, he will get a big present from his parents.’

- (103) [Tso examen d1al-ah], di-yr d-u da-nanas VSiOO
he.ABS exam.SG.ABS give-CNVB make-NON-FIN CL3-is mother-father.ABS
tsunna dokkha sovg1at.
he-DAT big present.SG.ABS

‘If he passes the exam, he will get a big present from his parents.’

- (104) [Tso examen d1al-ah], da-nanas di-yr d-u tsunna SViOO
he.ABS exam.SG.ABS give-CNVB mother-father.ABS make-NON-FIN CL3-is he-DAT
big present.SG.ABS
dokkha sovg1at.

‘If he passes the exam, he will get a big present from his parents.’

(105) [Tso examen d1al-ah], di-yr d-u tsunna dokkha ViOOS

he.ABS exam.SG.ABS give-CNVB make-NON-FIN CL3-is he-DAT big

sovglat da-nanas.

present.SG.ABS mother-father.ABS

‘If he passes the exam, he will get a big present from his parents.’

All these examples are perfectly grammatical sentences of Chechen, however they cannot be placed at the same level of acceptability as far as their semantics is concerned, i.e., some of the word orders are preferred over the others, for instance OVS can be used almost interchangeably with the neutral SOV word order and would certainly be preferred over OSV or VSO. The latter two are often used in literature and rarely in spoken language.

There are also other types of adverbial clause which are not formed with converbs, namely adverbial clauses of cause. Consider the examples in (106) and (107):

(106) [As kecham b-ina deela] atta dara suna examen-eh.

I.ERG preparation.ABS.SG CL5-made because easy was I.DAT exam.SG-LOC

‘I easily passed my exams because I was well prepared.’

(107) [Ahcha d-olu deela] desha yish y-u tsun-an.

money.SG.ABS CL3-be.NON-FIN because study.INF ability CL2-is she-GEN

‘She can study because she has enough money.’

These examples illustrate the adverbial clauses of cause, that are introduced by subordinate conjunction *deela* ‘because’. In (106) the verb is finite, it is inflected with past tense, while in (107) the verb is non-finite.

2.3.4 Relative clauses

The function of relative clauses is to modify a noun in main clause. In Chechen three positions can be relativized: subject as shown in (109), direct object as in (110) and indirect object as in

(111). Relative clauses are distinguished by their position in a sentence; they always precede their head noun. Chechen has no relative clause markers. Consider the following examples:

(108) Heharho-cho desharho-chunga k1olam b-elira.
 teacher.SG-ERG pupil.SG-LOC pencil.SG.ABS CL5-gave
 ‘A teacher gave a pencil to a pupil.’

(109) **[Desharho-chunga k1olam b-ella y-olu]** heharho.
 pupil.SG-LOC pencil.SG.ABS CL5-gave CL2-was teacher.SG.ABS
 ‘A teacher who gave a pencil to a pupil.’

(110) [Heharho-cho desharho-chunga b-ella b-olu] k1olam.
 teacher.SG-ERG pupil.SG-LOC CL5-gave CL5-was pencil.SG.ABS
 ‘A pencil that a teacher gave to a pupil.’

(111) [Heharho-cho k1olam b-ella v-olu] desharho.
 teacher.SG-ERG pencil.SG.ABS CL5-gave CL1-was pupil.SG.ABS
 ‘A pupil to whom a teacher gave a pencil.’

(108) is a simple clause with a ditransitive verb *belira* ‘gave’ which takes three arguments: S *heharhocho* ‘teacher’, O *k1olam* ‘pencil’ and iO *desharhochunga* ‘pupil’. The following three examples show these positions relativized. So, in (109) the head noun is *heharho* ‘teacher’ (in bold type) follows the relative clause (in brackets) that modifies it; similarly, in (110) and (111) the head nouns *k1olam* ‘pencil’ and *desharhochunga* ‘pupil’ are also modified by relative clauses. Head nouns always appear in clause final position following relative clauses. They never occur in a different position. In all three examples the lexical verb *bella* ‘gave’ agrees in gender class with its O *k1olam* ‘pencil’, whereas the auxiliary verbs agree with the gender class of head nouns, *heharho* ‘teacher’ in (109), *k1olam* ‘pencil’ in (110) and *desharho* ‘pupil’ in (111) respectively.

Relativized nouns leave gaps in relative clauses. However, relative clauses can have subjects as well:

(112) [Sha_i v-ogʔur v-ats ba’hna v-olu] Yusuf_i

he.REFL CL1-come CL1-not say.PAST CL1-be.PRTC Yusuf.ABS
veana sha-khechira.
come-NON-FIN PRVB-arrived

‘Yusuf, who said he would not come, arrived.’

The subject position in this sentence is occupied by a reflexive pronoun *sha* ‘himself’ which is co-indexed with the head noun *Yusuf* ‘Yusuf’. The pronoun is optional and can be omitted without any change to the meaning of the sentence. Reflexive pronouns typically fill the gap of a relativized subject; it is less common for them to occupy the positions of relativized objects or objects of postpositions.

Verbs in relative clauses are non-finite and these are typically participles, as shown in the following example:

- (113) [Haza a’lla-chu] dash-o lam b-ashiyna.
beautiful say-PRTC word-ERG mountain.ABS CL6-melt.PRES
‘A kind word can melt a mountain.’
(lit. ‘A nicely word word melted a mountain.’) (Chechen proverb)

This section was a brief introduction to types of subordinate clause. A detailed discussion will be offered in subsequent chapters.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter provides a general overview of subordination in Chechen as well as a brief introduction to other types of clause-linking, in particular coordination and co-subordination. The chapter offers a brief introduction to each type of subordinate clause, namely complement, adverbial and relative clauses. A description of verbal morphology in Chechen is also included in the chapter, as verb forms are extensively used for the purposes of subordination.

Chapter 3. Complement clause types in Chechen

3.1 Introduction to complementation in Chechen

Chechen employs various types of complement clause and one complementation strategy in particular, nominalization. Complement clauses generally show two characteristics, namely they can be marked with some kind of subordinating marker or have no markers. These mechanisms are widespread across languages. As Whaley (1997: 256) notes that there are two primary mechanisms that languages tend to exploit in complement clauses, more specifically the use of a complementizer and a non-finite verb. Both mechanisms are used in Chechen complement clauses.

The focus of this chapter will be on offering the description of complement clause types and complement-taking verbs in Chechen. The discussion of these will be based on Dixon's (2008) categorization of semantic types of verbs and complement clause types. According to Dixon (2008) languages show a tendency for three types of complement clause, more

specifically fact, activity and potential clauses. Complement-taking verbs take a particular type of complement clause according to the characteristics that are associated with it. The discussion of nominalization will be left for a later chapter.

3.2 Dixon's semantic types of verbs and complement clause types

Complement clauses occur as arguments to certain verbs, such as 'hear', 'believe', 'want' and 'like' among others, which take these clauses as arguments just as they take noun phrases (Dixon 2008).

According to Dixon (2008) each word class has a semantic concept that is associated with it, therefore words fall into different semantic types, each showing similarities in their syntactic function and meaning. He categorized verbs into two semantic types, namely primary types and secondary types. Each type is described in turn.

The primary group of verbs is further divided into two sub-groups. The first group of verbs take NPs as their arguments. These are verbs of Motion such as 'drop' or 'run', Affect as 'build' or 'burn', etc. For instance, in (1) both arguments of the verb 'build' are NPs, a subject 'he' and an object 'a house'.

(1) He built a house.

The verbs for the second group can take NPs as their arguments but alternatively one of the arguments can be a complement clause. This group of verbs are said to constitute a set of typical complement-taking verbs which can be found in any language. These are Attention verbs such as 'notice', 'recognize', 'find' or 'discover'; Liking verbs as 'fear', 'enjoy', 'regret' or 'love', Thinking verbs such as 'assume', 'forget', 'understand' or 'remember', etc. In (2) the verb 'regret' takes two arguments which are both NPs, whereas in (3) one of the arguments, more specifically, O argument is a complement clause.

(2) I regret my decision.

(3) I regret disclosing my secret.

The Secondary types, or in Dixon's terms 'secondary concepts', take NP as one of arguments, while the second argument must be a complement clause. The secondary concepts cannot occur by themselves, i.e. there should be a verb that they are associated with; this verb can be explicitly present or implied.

Secondary concepts are also subdivided into three smaller groups. The first group of concepts typically does not add to the semantic role of a verb it is linked to. These concepts can be realised either by a verbal affix or by modifier which can modify a verb or a clause as well as lexical items. So, this semantic type includes negators, modal verbs and lexical verbs of beginning-type such as 'start', 'stop' or 'continue' and trying-type such as 'attempt' or 'try', for instance:

(4) I don't like it.

(5) You should see a doctor.

(6) I continued/tried [to work hard].

(4) and (5) are examples showing that the secondary concept 'don't' and 'should' do not add to semantic roles of verbs. In (6), the secondary concepts are realized as lexical verbs and they take a complement clause as O argument. Clauses that are complements to this type of verb must share subjects with the main clause, as shown in (6).

The second group of concepts – verbs like 'hope (for)', 'want', 'pretend' or 'intend' – are treated differently in different languages. These may be realized as intransitive or transitive verbs as well as having same or different subjects with the main verb. In English, the complement clause remains the same regardless of whether the subject in main clause and complement clause is the same or different, for instance:

(7) I want to stay here.

(8) I want you to stay here.

Some languages do not allow this, so the type of complement clause used will depend on whether the main and complement clauses share or do not share the subject. Chechen belongs to this type of language. Consider the following examples:

(9) Suna [khuzah satsa] la'a.

I.DAT here stay.INF want

'I want to stay here.'

(10) Suna [h'o khuzah satsi-(y)ta]. la'a.

I.DAT you here stay-CAUS want

'I want you to stay here.'

Unlike examples (7) and (8) from English, where complement clauses are the same in both sentences, in (9) and (10) they are different. In (9) the main and complement clause (in brackets) share the same subject, and the verb in a complement clause is in infinitive form; whereas in (10), where the subjects are different, the verb in the complement clause is a causative. This will be further discussed in a later section.

One of the typical characteristics of the second group of verbs is that the subject in main and complement clauses is generally the same, and it is omitted from the complement clause. Lastly, the third type may be realized either through a secondary verb or by means of a verbal affix which adds the role of 'helper/causer' changing the valency of a verb. These concepts include verbs such as 'help', 'make', 'force' or 'cause'. Unlike the verbs from the second type, this type of verb typically does not share subjects with verbs in complement clauses; if the subject is the same then its token should be present in a complement clause, for example:

(11) He forced himself to start the conversation.

(12) *He forced to start the conversation.

Cross-linguistically, complement clauses are classified into different types and languages vary in a number of types that they have. However, there are three types of complement clause that

languages generally seem to share, more specifically fact, activity and potential complement clauses (Dixon 2008).

Fact type complement clauses show structure that is similar to a main clause, so they show a full range of inflection possibilities such as tense and aspect, negation marking etc. This type of complement clause can show a different tense to a main clause. Another prototypical feature of fact type complement clause is that they are marked with a complementizer, which may be omitted in some particular circumstances. The subject in fact clause may be the same or different to that in a main clause. An example of this type of clause is an English *that*-clause:

(13) I know that you forgot about it.

Activity type clauses typically refer to some ongoing actions. This type of clause resembles a noun phrase in that the subject in a clause can be marked with a possessive case; a verb also has a special form (ex. *-ing* in English), but crucially not a verbal nominalization which has a different structure. Activity type complement clauses have less specification for marking tense and aspect or expressing negation. Similar to fact clauses, activity type clauses may differ in tense with the matrix clause. Complement and main clauses may share subjects or have different subjects; the subject can be omitted if it is the same in both clauses. The following example from English illustrates the activity type complement clause. In (14) the main verb ‘remember’ takes a complement clause which is formed with a gerund ‘asking’ showing an ongoing activity:

(14) I remember asking you about it.

The last complement clause type is a potential type. This type of clause is used to show whether the subject will become engaged in an activity. Potential type is quite different from both fact type and activity type complement clauses. Fact clauses show similar structure with a main clause, while potential clauses show less similarity; Activity complement clauses show similar structure to a noun phrase, whereas potential clauses do not. This type of clause lacks inflection

possibilities that are generally available to a matrix clause, such as tense and aspect. The typical verb form in potential clauses is infinitive. In some languages, the subject in main and complement clause may be required to be the same and its token to be omitted from the complement clause.

This was a brief overview of complement-taking verbs and complement clause proposed by Dixon (2008). Now I will move on to the description of complement clause types in Chechen based on this categorization.

3.3 Semantic classification of verbs and complement clause types in Chechen

Chechen has both primary and secondary concepts. The primary concepts in Chechen include: attention verbs (*gaⁿ* ‘see’, *gaita* ‘show’, *tidam baⁿ* ‘notice’, *dovza* ‘recognize’, *halaha* ‘find’, etc.); thinking verbs (*oila yaⁿ* ‘think, dream’, *dagada* ‘remember’, *ditsda* ‘forget’, *tesha* ‘believe’, etc.); liking verbs (*dohkovala* ‘regret’, *khera* ‘fear’, *g?ole heta* ‘prefer’, *deza* ‘love’, etc.); speaking verbs (*dosh dala* ‘promise’ *diitsa* ‘tell’, *kheram tassa* ‘threaten’, *omar daⁿ* ‘command, order’, *ala* ‘say’, etc.).

The secondary types of verb in Chechen include: secondary first type concepts (modal verbs such as *deza* ‘must, have to’, *mega* ‘may’, *oshu* ‘need’, etc; a negator *tsa* ‘not’; beginning type such as *volavala* ‘start, begin’, *satsa* ‘stop, cease, finish’); the second type of concepts (such as *laa* ‘want, wish’, *dagah hila* ‘plan, intend’, *satiisa* ‘hope’, etc.); the third type of concepts (such as *g?o daⁿ* ‘help’, *magiita* ‘let’, etc.).

From the primary types all ‘attention’ verbs and two ‘liking’ verbs (*g?ole heta* ‘prefer’, *deza* ‘love, like, enjoy’) take activity complement clauses. Nearly the same number of verbs takes infinitival complement clauses, the verbs that make up the ‘thinking’ and ‘speaking’ groups of verbs.

The verbs belonging to the secondary types are all infinitive-taking verbs, with only one verb *gʔo daⁿ* ‘help’ which also takes participial clauses.

These are listed in table 3, which illustrates different semantic types of verbs taking different types of complement clause (a tick is used when a verb takes a particular type of clause; while space is intentionally left blank where a verb does not take a clause). As the table shows, most of the verbs take fact complement clauses with complementizer *a'lla*; while only a few verbs take other types of clause, non-finite complement clauses and complement clauses formed with *bohush* and the marker *-y*. This table does not contain all complement-taking verbs but the verbs that are most frequently used.

Table 3 Classification of complement-taking verbs

Semantic types of verbs	Translation	Complement clause type				
		Potential complement clauses	Activity complement clauses	Fact complement clauses		
		Infinitival	Participial	<i>alla</i>	<i>bohush</i>	marker <i>-y</i>
<i>Saying</i>						
<i>ala, divtsa</i>	‘say, tell’			✓		✓
<i>haam ban</i>	‘notify, inform’			✓		✓
<i>haiyta</i>	‘let know’			✓		✓
<i>dʔakhaykhadaⁿ</i>	‘announce, warn’			✓	✓	✓
<i>hʔahada</i>	‘mention’			✓		
<i>baha</i>	‘say’					
<i>dehar daⁿ</i>	‘ask’			✓	✓	
<i>hatta</i>	‘ask’			✓		
<i>dosh dala</i>	‘promise’	✓		✓	✓	
<i>tʔechʔagʔdaⁿ</i>	‘claim, allege’		✓	✓		
<i>arz daⁿ</i>	‘report’		✓	✓		
<i>‘kheram tassa’</i>	‘threaten’			✓		
<i>latʔkʔa. arz daⁿ</i>	‘complain’			✓		
<i>omra daⁿ</i>	‘order’			✓		
<i>samadaha</i>	‘urge’			✓		
<i>mettahdakkha</i>						
<i>tʔedojo. tʔedilla</i>	‘demand’	✓		✓		
<i>tesho</i>	‘convince, prove’		✓			
<i>ʔamo</i>	‘teach, learn’	✓	✓			
<i>gaita</i>	‘show’		✓			

<u>kheta</u>	presume, assume'					✓
<u>ditsdaⁿ</u>	'forget'	✓				✓
<u>tesha</u>	'believe'					✓
<u>shek'hila</u>	'suspect'				✓	✓
<u>haa</u>	'know, be familiar with'	✓				✓
<u>surt</u> <u>h?otto.</u>	'imagine'		✓	✓		
<u>dagalatsa</u>	'guess'		✓	✓		✓
<u>dagadaⁿ</u> <u>haa</u>	'predict, foresee'			✓	✓	
<u>pal tassa</u>					✓	
<i>Liking</i>						
<u>deza</u>	'love'				✓	
<u>hazaheta</u>	'like'				✓	
<u>dohkovala</u>	'regret'					
<u>khera</u>	'fear, be afraid'	✓				
<u>tsa deza</u>	'hate'		✓			
<u>bak'h'aheta.</u>	'prefer'		✓			
<u>g?ole heta</u>			✓			
<u>samuk'adakkha</u>	'enjoy'					
<i>Attention</i>						
<u>gaⁿ</u>	'see'		✓			
<u>haza</u>	'hear'		✓			
<u>tidam baⁿ</u>	'notice'		✓			
<u>karo</u>	'find, uncover'		✓			
<u>hoja kheta</u>	'smell'					
<u>guchadakkha.</u>	'discover'		✓			
<u>karo</u>						

Most verbs take one type of complement clause. Only a small number of verbs can take more than one or all types, and the verb *dagada*ⁿ ‘remember’ is one of these verbs. Consider the following examples:

Potential complement clause-infinitival:

- (15) [Tsunɡa iza ala] dagadeara suna.
she.LOC it.ABS say.INF remembered I.DAT
‘I remembered to say it to her.’

Activity complement clause-participial:

- (16) [Tsunɡa iza ol-ush] dagadog1u suna.
she.LOC it.ABS say-PRTC remember I.DAT
‘I remember saying it to her.’

Fact complement clause with a complementizer *bohush*:

- (17) [Ho tho’ga y-ena] dagadog1u suna.
you.ABS we.LOC CL2-came remember I.DAT
‘I remember you came to visit us.’

Fact complement clause with marker -y:

- (18) [Sha tsunɡa v-isthilli-y] dagadeara tsunna.
he.REFL she.LOC CL1-speak-COMP remember he.DAT
‘He remembered that he talked to her.’

If we look at the characteristics of different types of complement clause presented in examples (15)-(18), we can observe that they are identical as far as their syntactic structure concerned. As it is generally the case, non-finite clauses, including complement clauses, tend to occur immediately preceding the main clause, and the latter is typically showing a reversed word order, i.e. VS. Potential and activity complement clauses, formed with infinitives and participles respectively, show a slight difference in relation to the nature of the verb they are

formed with, i.e. while the participial verb forms are used to express the duration of an event, infinitival verbs are used to state that the event took place.

In (15) the verb *dagadeara* ‘remembered’ takes a potential complement clause which is formed with an infinitive verb *ala* ‘say’. In the next example the complement clause is an activity clause type which contains a participial verb *olush* ‘saying’. Examples (17) and (18) demonstrate fact complement clauses. The sentence in (17) is different from the other sentences in this set of examples in that it is finite; the verb *dagadoglu* ‘remember’ takes a fact complement clause which is formed with a finite verb *yeana* ‘came’. In (18) the complement clause is formed with the use of marker *-y* which is attached to the verb stem.

As these examples illustrate, Chechen has all three types of complement clause, more specifically, fact, potential and activity clauses. Fact complement clauses are of two types: those with complementizers *a'lla* and *bohush*, and the marker *-y*, and clauses without any type complementizer. Potential clauses are formed with infinitives except for a small number of clauses which are formed with the use of causatives. Activity type includes participial clauses only.

Chechen shows preference for O complement clauses, so most of clauses can only function as O of the main verb. Consider the following examples:

- (19) [Desha] la'a suna.
 study.INF want I.DAT
 ‘I want to study.’

(20) [Iza ara-y-ol-ush] gira tsunna.

she.ABS out-CL2-go-PRTC saw she.DAT

‘She saw her going out.’

(21) [Ah iza d-i-yr d-u a’lla] daga tsa deanera suna.

you.ERG it.ABS CL3-do-NON-FIN CL3-is that.COMP heart not came I.DAT

‘I have never thought that you would do it.’

(lit. ‘That you would do it I have never thought.’)

(22) [Sha tsiga v-u’g-ush v-u bohush]

s/he.REFL there.LOC CL1-take-PRTC CL1-is that.COMP

chog1a samuk1da’lla v-ara k1ant.

very happy CL1-was boy.SG.ABS

‘The boy was happy that he was going there.’

(lit. ‘The boy was happy that he will be taken there.’)

(23) [Sha tsiga v-o’d-ush v-u-y]

he.REFL there.LOC CL1-go-PRTC CL1-is-COMP

tsh’ange tsa haiytira tso.

nobody not let.know he.ERG

‘He didn’t tell anyone that he was going there.’

These examples illustrate potential complement clause as shown in (19), activity clause as shown in (20) and fact *a’lla*, *bohush* and *-y* complement clauses as illustrated in (21), (22) and (23) respectively. These complement clauses function as O to main clause verbs, except for the example in (22) where the complement clause is a complement to the predicative AdjP *samuk1da’lla v-ara* ‘was happy’. As examples show, all clauses share the same syntactic position, preceding the main clause. More detail about the position of complement clauses will follow in the next section.

The exception to this is complement clauses formed with nominalized verbs. This type of clause is allowed in A, S and O functions. Consider the following examples:

- (24) [H'an hejaro] halahetiytira tsunna.
you.GEN look.ERG offended he.DAT
'He was offended by you looking at him.'
- (25) [Han hejar] tsa diyzira tsunna.
you.GEN look.ABS not liked he.DAT
'He didn't like that you looked at him.'
- (26) [Iza tsunga y-isthila-r] bak1 hillera.
she.ABS she.LOC CL2-talk-NMLZ truth was
'That she talked to him turned out to be true.'

In complement clause in (24) the nominalization (boldfaced) *hejaro* 'looking' is marked with ergative. Recall from section 1.5 that some nominalizations in Chechen show noun features while others show verbal features. So, the nominalization in this clause more resembles nouns and therefore is marked with noun grammatical categories. It functions as A to the main verb *halahetiytira* 'offended'. In (25) however, the nominalization *hejar* 'looking' function as O of the matrix verb *tsa diyzira* 'didn't like'. In (26) the nominalized clause *iza thunga yisthilar* 'her talking to him' is in S function to the main verb *hillera* 'was'.

As above mentioned, complement clauses are arguments of a verb in a main clause, however, they can also contain complement clauses within them, for instance:

- (27) [Iza behke v-ats a'lla] tesha iza.
he.ABS guilty CL1-not that believe he.ABS
'He believes that he is not guilty.'
- (28) [[Iza behke v-ats a'lla [tesha]] la'a tsunna.
he.ABS guilty CL1-not that believe.INF want he
'He wants to believe that he is not guilty.'

In (27) the clause *iza behke v-ats a'lla* ‘that he is not guilty’ is complement to the main verb *tesha* ‘believe’. In (28) this complement clause contains is no longer a complement to the main verb but a complement to infinitival clause *tesha* ‘believe’ which comprise a single infinitive verb, which is in turn complement to the main clause verb *la'a* ‘want’.

3.2.1 Potential and activity types: infinitival and participial complement clauses

Complement clauses of these two types are not introduced by any subordinating conjunctions or markers. They are formed with either infinitival or participial verbs and are always non-finite. Although bare complement clauses – as core arguments in a main clause – can have several positions within the sentence, their canonical position is the position immediately preceding the matrix verb, as shown in these examples:

(29) [Desha] la'a suna.

study.INF want I.DAT

‘I want to study.’

(30) [Iza ara-y-ol-ush] gira tsunna.

she.ABS out-CL2-go-PRTC saw she.DAT

‘She saw her going out.’

In (29) and (30) the infinitival clause *desha* ‘study’ and participial clause *iza arayolush* ‘her going out’ occupy sentence-initial positions preceding matrix verbs *la'a* ‘want’ and *gira* ‘saw’ in (29) and (30) respectively.

Although these complement clause types (including fact type) are found in this position, other syntactic positions can also be observed, for instance:

(31) Suna [desha] la'a.

I.DAT study.INF want

‘I want to study.’

(32) Tsunna [iza ara-y-ol-ush] gira.

she.DAT she.ABS out-CL2-go-PRTC saw

‘She saw her going out.’

(33) Suna la'a [desha].

I.DAT want study.INF

'I want to study.'

(34) Tsunna gira [iza ara-y-ol-ush].

she.DAT saw she.ABS out-CL2-go-PRTC

'She saw her going out.'

As these examples show, complement clauses can occupy sentence-initial (29)-(30), sentence-medial (31)-(32) and sentence-final (33)-(34) positions. This variation in a syntactic structure does not affect the semantics of a sentence, so the meaning remains the same. ⁶The versions in (33) and (34) are used less often; they occur under certain pragmatic conditions.

Although complement clauses show flexibility in their position within a sentence, clause-internally they have a strict word order. The only word order pattern that is allowed is SOV, as shown in the examples above; otherwise, a sentence is ungrammatical:

(35) *[Y-osh-ush kniga-sh] hazaheta tsunna.

CL2-read-PRTC book.ABS-PL like he.DAT

'He likes reading books.'

In sentences containing a complement clause, the word order in the main clause depends on its position. If the main clause is sentence-final, as in (29)-(30), the word order is VS, and SV is unacceptable. If a main clause shows the position as in (31) and (32), i.e. when the complement clause positioned in the middle of the main clause, the basic SV order is observed, and VS order is ungrammatical. And finally, if the main clause is in a sentence-initial position, the word order is also SV as shown in (33) and (34); however, VS is possible under specific pragmatic conditions, i.e. when a constituent is focused:

(36) Hazaheta tsunna [kniga-sh y-osh-ush].

like he.DAT book.ABS-PL CL2-read-PRTC

'He likes reading books.'

⁶ This version of a sentence is more often used with a marker that attaches to a main clause subject emphasizing the importance of somebody's statement/when persuading that something is one way and not the other.

The above was a brief general overview of potential and activity clause types. As examples illustrate these two types of clause show some similarities in terms of non-finiteness and being formed without the use of complementizers.

The next two sub-sections discuss infinitive and participial verbs more closely offering a detailed description of complement clauses containing these verb forms.

3.2.1.1 Infinitives

Infinitives in Chechen can be distinguished by the endings *-a*, *-aⁿ* which attach to verb stems, for example, *laa* ‘want’, *desha* ‘study’, *lamadaⁿ* ‘learn’, *oila yaⁿ* ‘think’, *gayta* ‘show’, etc. This type of verb can be easily identified as no other verbs are formed by means of these suffixes. It is also a form of verb that is indicated in dictionary entries. The infinitival verbs are typically non-finite, i.e. they show no marking of verbal grammatical categories, except for a noun gender class as we will see below. Their distribution is also fairly fixed, typically preceding the matrix verb. Consider the following examples of infinitives from Chechen:

(37) Hizir-an [yazy-aⁿ] ha’a.

Hizir-DAT write-INF. know

‘Hizir knows how to write.’

(lit. ‘Hizir knows to write’.)

(38) Tsunna [kerla koch ets-a] la’a.

she.DAT new dress.ABS.SG buy-INF want

‘She wants to buy a new dress.’

In (37) the complement clause comprises a single verb, the infinitive *yazyaⁿ* ‘write’; whereas in (38) the clause consists of an infinitive *etsa* ‘buy’ which takes *kerla koch* ‘new dress’ as its argument. In both examples the infinitives are non-finite verb forms with no inflections.

According to Noonan (1985: 57), cross-linguistically infinitives can be marked with various verbal categories, including voice, tense and aspect or subject and object agreement. Conversely, Wurmbrand (2007) argues that infinitives are tenseless, whether it concerns the syntactic or semantic level of representation. Although there is no consensus among linguists (Martin 2001, Wurmbrand 2001, among others) on which, if any, grammatical categories infinitives can be inflected for, infinitives, as well as other non-finite verb forms, can be distinguished from finite verbs by their inability to form an independent sentence.

In Chechen most infinitives are non-inflected as shown in (37) and (38). However, some infinitives – those belonging to class verbs – can be referred to as so-called ‘inflected infinitives’, following the terminology used by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2002: 18). Recall from section 1.3.6 the notion of class verbs, which are verbs that show an agreement with their arguments as opposed to the non-class verb category which shows no agreement. They are marked with a noun gender class, a feature always marked on class verbs irrespective of their finiteness. This is the only grammatical category that is marked on infinitives. In examples (39) and (40) the infinitives show agreement with their notional S and O:

- (39) Jima Yusuf [dʔa-v-ij-a] dag-ah v-u.
little Yusuf.ABS PRVB-CL1-lie-INF heart-LOC CL1-is
‘Little Yusuf is thinking of going to bed.’

(40) Karin-in [Kʔor'an dag-ah ʔama-d-aⁿ] la'a.

Karin-DAT Quran.ABS heart-LOC learn-CL3-INFT want

‘Karina wants to learn the Quran by heart.’

In (39) the complement clause consists of a single infinitive *dʔavija* ‘lie down’ which agrees with its notional subject in gender class. The example shows that the auxiliary verb *vu* ‘is’ which forms the predicate *dagah vu* ‘is thinking’ is also marked with the gender class of its subject *Yusuf* which is a class 1 noun. In (40) the infinitive *ʔamadaⁿ* is marked with the gender class of its direct object, *Kʔor'an* ‘Quran’. The matrix verb in this clause is not marked as it does not belong to the class verb category (see section 2.2.2 for discussion of agreement between a verb and its A, S or O arguments).

As the examples show, there are complement clauses that are formed with bare infinitives as in (39) as well as clauses containing different types of phrase which function as arguments or modifiers to the infinitive verb. For example, in (40) *Kʔor'an* ‘Quran’ is an argument to the infinitive *ʔamadaⁿ* ‘to learn’, while *dagah* ‘by heart’ is its modifier.

Although infinitives lack overt subjects, they are not subjectless as far as the semantics is concerned. As examples (37) through (40) illustrate, infinitives share notional subjects with the main clause predicates. Overt subjects never occur in infinitival clauses as the following examples show:

(41) *e [iza dʔa-v-ij-a] dag-ah v-u.

e he.ABS PRVB-CL1-lie-INF heart-LOC CL1-is

(‘e is thinking of going to bed.’)

- (42) *e [jima Yusuf dʔa-v-ij-a] dag-ah v-u.
e little Yusuf.ABS PRVB-CL1-lie-INF heart-LOC CL1-is
(‘e is thinking of little Yusuf going to bed.’)

In (41) and (42) the infinitival verbs take a personal pronoun and referential expression as their subjects leading to ungrammaticality of sentences.

Main clause predicates always take referential expressions or personal pronouns as subjects, as examples (38)-(40) above show; however, they can never take reflexive pronouns as shown in (43):

- (43) *Sha [dʔa-v-ij-a] dag-ah v-u.
he.REFL.ABS PRVB-CL1-lie-INF heart-LOC CL1-is
(‘He is thinking of going to bed on his own.’)

It should be noted that subjects in main and infinitival clauses almost never show disjoint reference, i.e. they must be co-referenced (this is indicated by indexes):

- (44) Yusuf_i [e_i dʔa-v-ij-a] dag-ah v-u.
Yusuf-DAT e PRVB-CL1-lie-INF heart-LOC CL1-is
(‘Yusuf is going to go to bed.’)
- (45) *Yusuf_i [Hamza_j dʔa-v-ij-a] dag-ah v-u.
Yusuf-DAT Hamza.ABS PRVB-CL1-lie-INF heart-LOC CL1-is
(‘Yusuf is going to let Hamza sleep.’)
- (46) Karin-in_i [e_i Kʔor’an dag-ah ʔama-d-aⁿ] la’a.
Karina.ABS e Quran.ABS heart-LOC learn-CL3-INF want
(‘Karina wants to learn Quran by heart.’)

- (47) *Karin-in_i [Madina_j Kʔor’an dag-ah ʔama-d-aⁿ] la’a.

Karina.ABS Madina.ABS Quran.ABS heart-LOC learn-CL3-INF want

(‘Karina wants Madina to learn Quran by heart.’)

The sentences in (45) and (47) differ from their counterpart sentences in (44) and (46) in that the infinitives in these sentences take subjects different to those in matrix clauses. This makes (45) and (47) ungrammatical.

However, some verbs are undergoing diachronic change, so there are few verbs which can appear in a form of infinitive even if subjects in both main and complement clauses show disjoint reference. Similarly, there are only few verbs including *laa* ‘want’, *ditsdala* ‘forget’ and *oila yan* ‘think’, which can take the infinitival clauses that are formed with the verbs undergoing change. Consider the following examples:

(48) Suna [ho tsiga v-ah-a] la’a.

I.DAT you.ABS there.LOC CL1-go-INF want

‘I want you to go there.’

(49) Suna [ho tsunga v-isthil-a] la’a.

I.DAT you.ABS she.LOC CL1-talk-INF want

‘I want you to talk to her.’

In (48) the verb *vaha* ‘go’ in the complement clause is in infinitive form. Similarly, the verb *visthila* ‘talk’ in (49) is also an infinitive.

Normally, verbs (including the verbs from the examples) appear in causative:

(50) Suna [ho tsiga v-ahi-yta] la’a.

I.DAT you.ABS there.LOC CL1-go-CAUS want

‘I want you to go there.’

(51) Suna [ho tsunga v-isthili-yta] la’a.

I.DAT you.ABS she.LOC CL1-talk-CAUS want

‘I want you to talk to her.’

(52) So [ho’ga deshi-yta] oyla y-esh y-u.

I.ABS you.LOC study-CAUS thought.SG.ABS CL2-do CL2-is

‘I want you to study.’ (lit. ‘I am thinking of making you to study.’)

(53) Tsunna [shen k1ant-(i)ga dars-(a)sh d-a-yta] ditsdelira.

she.DAT she.GEN boy.SG-LOC homework.ABS-PL CL3-do-CAUS forgot

‘She forgot to get her son to do his homework.’

(lit. ‘She forgot to make her son to do his homework.’)

The examples (50) through (53) show complement clauses (in brackets) which are formed with the use of causative *-yta* suffix which attaches to a verb stem changes the valency of the verb adding a an additional ‘causer’.

Although there are only few verbs that take infinitival clauses (table 3), this type of clause is used quite often.

3.2.1.2 Participles

There are two types of participle in Chechen: *-ush/-esh* participles and *-chu* participles. These occur in different types of subordinate clause and show a slight difference in relation to their function. The *-ush/-esh* participles form complement and adverbial clauses, in particular *if*-clauses. In complement clauses, participles generally describe state of affairs (duration of an event), while in adverbial clauses they show the action that is simultaneous with the action described by the main verb, as shown in (54) and (55) respectively. The *-chu* participles also form adverbial clauses, but of a different type, namely *when*-clauses, as well as relative clauses, as (56) and (57) show:

(54) [Shen yish-(i)ga kehat yaz-d-esh] gira suna iza.

he.GEN sister-LOC letter.SG.ABS write-CL3-PRTC saw I.DAT he.ABS

‘I saw him writing a letter to his sister’.

(55) [So y-od-ush hilah] as hoyuytur du ho'ga.
I.ABS CL2-going-PRTC if I.ERG let.know.NON-FIN CL3-is you.LOC
'If I am going, I will let you know.'

(56) [Sha y-og?u-chu henah] hoyuytu tso.
he.REFL.ABS CL1-come-PRTC when let.know he.ERG
'She informs whenever she comes.'

(57) [Haza a'lla-chu] desh-o lam b-ashiyna.
beautiful say-PRTC word-ERG mountain.SG.ABS CL6-melt
'A nice word melted a mountain.'
(lit. 'A word that is said nicely melted a mountain.')

In (54) the verb in a complement clause is a participle *yazdesh* 'writing', which forms a clause that is a complement to a main clause verb *gira* 'saw'. In (55) the participle verb *yodush* 'going' forms an adverbial if-clause. (56) is also an example of an adverbial clause, in particular when-clause, formed with a second type of participle, *-chu*. In (57) the participle *a'llachu* 'saying' forms a relative clause which modifies the head noun *desho* 'word'. The discussion of the participles forming relative and adverbial clauses will follow in more detail in respective chapters.

The subjects in participial and matrix clauses show some patterns of co-reference and disjoint reference. Let us look at two different scenarios, in particular when participial and main verbs take different vs. same subjects.

In sentences where a participial and a matrix verb take different subjects, the subjects can be either referential expressions or personal pronouns. Examples (58) through (61) show the possible variations:

(58) [Madina t?a-y-og?-ush] gira Luiz-in.
Madina.ABS home-CL2-come-PRTC saw Luiza-DAT

‘Luiza saw Madina leaving.’

- (59) Tsunna_i [iza_j tʔa-y-ogʔ-ush] gira.
she.DAT she.ABS home-CL2-come-PRTC saw

‘She saw her leaving.’

- (60) [Iza_i tʔa-y-ogʔ-ush] gira Luiza-in_j.
she.ABS home-CL2-come-PRTC saw Luiza-DAT

‘Luiza saw her leaving.’

- (61) Tsunna_i [Madina_j tʔa-y-ogʔ-ush] gira.
she.DAT Madina.ABS home-CL2-come-PRTC saw

‘She saw Madina leaving.’

As examples show, in this type of sentence participial and main clause verbs can both take referential expressions as in (58), personal pronouns as in (59) or take them interchangeably as in (60) and (61). Subjects in both main and participial clauses have to be overt and almost never allow co-reference as shown in (59)-(61), as well as omission as illustrated in (62) and (63):

- (62) *[Madina tʔa-y-ogʔ-ush] gira e_i.
Madina.ABS home-CL2-come-PRTC saw e_i

‘e saw Madina leaving.’

- (63) *[e_i tʔa-y-ogʔ-ush] gira Luiz-in.
e_i home-CL2-come-PRTC saw Luiza-DAT

‘Luiza saw e leaving.’

The first example shows the omission of a main clause subject, whereas in the second example it is the participial clause subject that is omitted; both versions are unacceptable. As always,

there some exceptions, so consider the examples where participial and main clause subjects show co-reference:

- (64) [Sha_i kesta tsa-y-od-ush] hazaheta Madin-in_i.
she.REFL.ABS soon home-CL2-go-PRTC like Madin-DAT
'Madina likes that she is going home soon.'

- (65) [Sha_i kesta tsa-y-od-ush] hazaheta tsunna_i.
she.REFL.ABS soon home-CL2-go-PRTC like she.DAT
'She likes that she is going home soon.'

Here a consistent pattern can be observed, namely the use of reflexive pronouns in participial clauses. In fact, this is the only noun phrase that participial verb takes in this type of sentence and the use of other types of noun phrases lead to ungrammaticality as examples (66) through (68) demonstrate. Reflexives are always co-referenced with the main clause subjects; in other words, they are always bound.

- (66) *[Iza_i kesta ts1a-y-od-ush] hazaheta shena_i.
she.DAT soon home-CL2-go-PRTC like she.REFL.DAT
(‘She likes herself going home soon.’)

- (67) *[Madina_i kesta ts1a-y-od-ush] hazaheta Madin-in_i.
Madina.ABS soon home-CL2-go-PRTC like Madina-DAT
(‘Madina likes that Madina going home soon.’)

- (68) *[Iza_i kesta ts1a-y-od-ush] hazaheta tsunna_i.
she.ABS soon home-CL2-go-PRTC like she-DAT
(‘She likes that she is going home soon.’)

In relation to main clause verbs, they can either take referential expressions or personal pronouns as it was illustrated in example above (58)-(59) but never reflexive pronouns as shown in (70). Where subjects in main and participial clauses are co-referential, one of the

subjects, namely participial clause subject, can be omitted, but never the main clause subject.

Consider the following examples:

- (69) [e_i kesta tsa-y-od-ush] hazaheta tsunna_i.
e soon home-CL2-go-PRTC like she.DAT
'She likes that e is going home soon.'

- (70) *[sha kesta tsa-y-od-ush] hazaheta e_i.
she.ABS soon home-CL2-go-PRTC like e
(‘e likes that she is going home soon.’)

In (69) the subject of a participial verb, a reflexive pronoun *sha* ‘herself’ is omitted, so the participial clause has a notional subject which refers back to the main clause subject *tsunna* ‘she’. In (70) the omitted subject is that of a main clause which is not possible, hence the ungrammaticality of the sentence. Although it is possible to omit the participial clause subjects, there are some sentences where this is unacceptable:

- (71) [Shega_i th’a? hoj-ush] haadelira Madin-in_i.
she.REFL.LOC someone.ABS look-PRTC noticed Madina-DAT
'Madina noticed somebody looking at her.'

- (72) #[e_i tsha? hoj-ush] haadelira Madin-in_i.
e_i someone.ABS look-PRTC noticed Madina-DAT
(‘Madina noticed somebody looking at e.’)

In (71) the reflexive pronoun *shega* ‘herself’ is co-referenced with the main clause subject *Madinin*, therefore it is clear that there is someone looking at *Madina*. However, (72) is at least ambiguous as it is unclear who is the person that someone is looking at.

3.3 Fact complement clauses with complementizers *a'lla* and *bohush*, and marker *-y*.

A'lla and *bohush* function as complementizers in some complement clauses. These words derived from verbs *ala* and *baha* both translating as ‘say’. As Noonan notes, complementizers tend to derive from adpositions, pronouns or case markers as well as verbs; and an example of this are English complementizers such as *to*, *if* and *that* which historically derived from the preposition *to*, the conjunction *if* and the pronoun *that*. The elements *a'lla* and *bohush* are past and participial forms of two verbs *ala* and *baha* respectively; both verbs have the same meaning ‘to say’. The elements seem to have undergone change through the process of grammaticalization, so in addition to their meaning as ‘saying’, they have two other meanings of complementizer *that* and *because* which occurs as a conjunction in adverbial clauses.

Before proceeding to the discussion of the use of these elements as complementizers, I discuss the additional functions that they have. Consider the following example:

- (73) [Shen korta lozu a'lla] d?a-y-ijira iza.
she.GEN head.ABS ache said PRVB-CL2-slept she.ABS
‘She said she had a headache and went to bed.’
(lit. She went to bed saying that she had a headache.)

In (73) *a'lla* functions as a reporting verb. This form shows some differences to a reporting verb formed from the verb *ala* ‘say’ in several respects. First, although with the same semantic content – both having the same meaning ‘say’ and being used for reporting indirect speech – they show some differences in syntax. The former is always present in a complement clause and is an essential element which cannot be omitted as shown in (74), while the latter occurs as a main clause verb as in (75). Second, reporting verbs typically occur in witnessed past as in (76), not past perfect as in (75), which is a perfectly grammatical sentence of Chechen, but almost never used:

- (74) [Shen korta lozu *(a'lla)] dʔa-y-ijira iza.
she.GEN head.ABS ache said PRVB-CL2-slept she.ABS
'She said she has a headache and went to bed.'

- (75) #[Shen korta lozu] a'lla tso.
she.GEN head.ABS ache said she.ERG
'She said she has a headache.'

- (76) [Shen korta lozu] eli-ra tso
she.GEN head.ABS ache said-WIT.PAST she.ERG
'She said that she has a headache.'

Another function of *a'lla* is shown in (77), a subordinate sentence containing an adverbial clause (bracketed). *A'lla* here is used as a subordinating conjunction and translates as 'because', forming an adverbial clause of reason. So, the clause containing the element is not a complement to a verb in a main clause, but rather provides additional information, an explanation to the event that is stated in the main clause.

- (77) [Sha examen dʔa tsa ella a'lla] halahetta tsunna.
she.REFL exam.SG.ABS PRVB not gave because upset she.DAT
'She felt upset because she has not passed her exam.'

The sentence in (78) illustrates the main function of the element, i.e. a complementizer which has the meaning 'that'. I am primarily concerned with this function, so the other two functions will not be discussed any further unless it is relevant, in particular, some discussion of *a'lla* in adverbial clauses will be offered in a later chapter on adverbial clauses.

- (78) [Sha sovgʔat d-iy-r d-u a'lla] dosh d-elira tso.
 she.ERG present.ABS CL3-make-NON-FIN CL3-be COMP word.ABS CL3-gave she.ERG
 ‘She promised that she will make a present.’

The syntactic position of the complementizer *a'lla* is quite rigid: it always follows the finite verb (lexical or auxiliary) in a complement clause. Complement clauses containing the complementizer more often occupy the position preceding the main clause as in (78), however similar to other types of complement clause this type can also appear in different positions within a sentence:

- (79) Tso [sha sovgʔat d-iy-r d-u a'lla] dosh d-elira
 she.ERG she.ERG present.ABS CL3-make-NON-FIN CL3-be COMP word.ABS.SG CL3-gave
 ‘She promised that she will make a present.’

- (80) Tso dosh d-elira [sha sovgʔat d-iy-r d-u a'lla]
 she.ERG word.ABS CL3-gave she.ERG present.ABS CL3-make.NON-FIN CL3-be COMP
 ‘She promised that she will make a present.’

As the examples show, *a'lla*-complement clauses appear in O function in relation to the main clause verb. In fact, this is the only function that they can appear in within a sentence.

The element *bohush* is almost identical to *a'lla*. It functions as a reporting verb, as a subordinating conjunction ‘because’ and as a complementizer ‘that’; also, it appears in the same syntactic position of O to the matrix verb. Each function is discussed in turn.

- (81) [Sha shkol-e gʔur v-ats bohush] duhal-v-eli-ra
 he.ABS school-LOC go.NON-FIN CL1-is.not say against-CL1-become-WIT.PAST
 kʔant.
 boy.SG.ABS
 ‘He refuses to go to school.’ (lit. ‘He refuses saying that he will not go to school.’)

In (81) *bohush* functions as a reporting verb, again similar to *a'lla* this form is different from an ordinary reporting verb form. Although (82) is an acceptable sentence, it is almost never used; instead, the variant in (83) is preferred. What distinguishes the form *bohush* used in (81) from that in (83) is that in (81) it occurs in a complement clause, while in (83) it is a main clause verb, in a form of a participle accompanied by an auxiliary:

(82) #[Sha shkol-e gʔu-r v-ats] boh-ush v-u kʔant.
 he.ABS school.SG-LOC go-NON-FIN CL1-is.not say-PRTC CL1-is boy.SG.ABS
 ‘He is saying that he will not go to school.’

(83) [Sha shkol-e gʔur v-ats] baha kʔant-as.
 he.REFL.ABS school.SG-LOC go.NON-FIN CL1-is.not say.WIT.PAST boy.SG-ERG
 ‘The boy says he will not go to school.’

In (84) the element *bohush* is used as a subordinating conjunction in an adverbial clause of reason. The sentence in (85) is structurally similar to that in (86), however the element *bohush* has two different interpretations: as a subordinating conjunction ‘because’ and complementizer ‘that’.

(84) [Nakʔost v-ol-chu tsa v-ah-iyt-ina bohush] halahetta kʔant-(a)na.
 friend.SG.ABS CL1-is-LOC not CL1-go.CAUS-PAST because upset.felt boy.SG-DAT
 ‘The boy was upset because he couldn’t go to see his friend’
 (lit. ‘The boy felt upset because he wasn’t allowed to go see his friend.’)

(85) [Sha d-esha v-odu bohush] samuk1da'lla v-u iza.
 he.REFL.ABS CL1-study.INF CL1-go because.COMP glad CL1-is he.ABS
 ‘He is glad that/because he is going to study.’

Structurally it is almost impossible to distinguish between the two readings. In fact, similar evidence comes from Akkadian, an East Semitic language Deutscher (2010: 163), describing the language, notes that adverbial clauses containing conjunction *kīma* cannot be distinguished from complement clauses. Furthermore, he argues that complement clauses introduced by the

conjunction *kīma* developed from adverbial clauses; and two possible ways in which this could happen are: ‘the one is the bleaching of the causal meaning of *kīma*, and the other is through the equative meaning of *kīma*’ (Deutscher 2000a: 37-65). More discussion on the use of *bohush* in adverbial clauses will follow in later chapter.

The complementizer *bohush* similar to *a’lla* occurs in a clause-final position which is also the only possible position for this complementizer. Similarly, *bohush*-complement clauses are flexible in their position within a sentence, occupying the same positions as *a’lla*-complement clauses.

Another characteristic that both complementizers share is that they are essential elements of complement clauses, so their omission leads to ungrammaticality as (86) and (87) show. However, there are some exceptions. I return to this later in this section.

(86) [Sha_i sovgʔat d-iy-r d-u *(a’lla)]

she.REFL.ERG present.SG.ABS CL3-make.NON-FIN CL3-be COMP

dosh d-elira tso_i.

word.SG.ABS CL3-gave she.ERG

‘She promised that she will make a present.’

(87) [Sha_i d-esha v-odu *(bohush)] samuk1da’lla v-u iza_i.

he.REFL.ERG CL1-study.INF CL1-go because.COMP glad CL1-is he.ABS

‘He is glad that he is going to study.’/‘He is glad because he is going to study.’

Subjects in *a’lla* and *bohush* complement clauses often contain reflexive pronouns similar to infinitival and participial clause. Reflexive pronouns must be co-referenced with a matrix verb subject. In (86) and (87) above the reflexives *sha* ‘herself’ and *sha* ‘himself’ (the same pronoun is used for noun classes 1 and 2) are co-indexed with main clause subjects *tso* ‘she’ and *iza*

‘he’ respectively. The reflexives can be freely omitted with no change to meaning. Consider the following examples:

- (88) [Sovgʔat d-iy-r d-u a’lla] dosh d-elira tso.
present.SG.ABS CL3-make.NON-FIN CL3-be COMP word.SG.ABS CL3-gave she.ERG
‘She promised that she will make a present.’

- (89) [D-esha v-odu bohush] samuk1da’lla v-u iza.
CL1-study.INF CL1-go because.COMP glad CL1-is. he.ABS
‘He is glad that/because he is going to study.’

The reflexives that occur in complement clauses in (88) and (89) are omitted in these examples but the sentences are perfectly grammatical.

The reflexive pronouns are the only subject type that can occur in *a’lla* and *bohush* complement clauses where subjects need to show co-reference; other types of subject do not show co-reference. Consider the following examples:

- (90) [Luiza-s_i sovgʔat d-iy-r d-u a’lla]
Luiza-ERG present.SG.ABS CL3-make.NON-FIN CL3-be COMP
dosh d-elira tso*_{ij}.
word.SG.ABS CL3-gave she.ERG
‘Luiza promised that she will make a present.’

- (91) [Luiza_i desha y-odu bohush] samuk1da’lla y-u iza*_{ij}.
Luiza.ABS study.INF CL2-go because.COMP glad CL2-is he.ABS
‘She is glad that/because Luiza is going to study.’

(92) [Tso_i sovgʔat d-iy-r d-u a'lla]

she.ERG present.SG.ABS CL3-make.NON-FIN CL3-be COMP

dosh d-elira tso*_{ij}.

word.SG.ABS CL3-gave she.ERG

‘She promised that she*_{ij} will make a present.’

(93) [Iza_i desha y-odu bohush] samuk1da'lla y-u iza*_{ij}.

she.ABS study CL2-go because.COMP glad CL2-is she.ABS

‘She is glad that/because she is going*_{ij} to study.’

These examples show referential expressions as in (90) and (91), and personal pronouns as in (92) and (93) occurring in both *a'lla* and *bohush* clauses. The sentences are unacceptable when subjects show co-reference, however if the complement clause and main clause subjects show disjoint reference the sentences are perfectly grammatical. This is indicated by indexes.

Main clause verbs in this type of sentence (as well as sentences containing other types of subordinate clause) tend to always take referential expressions or personal pronouns as for example in (90) and (92), but never reflexive pronouns as shown in (94):

(94) *[Sovgʔat d-iy-r d-u a'lla] dosh

present.SG.ABS CL3-make.NON-FIN CL3-be COMP word.SG.ABS

d-elira sha.

CL3-gave she.REFL.ERG

‘She promised that she will make a present.’

Although the complementizers are similar in terms of their syntactic position and semantic content, they exhibit some differences. The element *bohush* compared to *a'lla* shows very restricted distribution. The *bohush*-clauses are selected by a small set of verbs. Some of the verbs that take *bohush* complement clauses are *diitsa* ‘tell’, *dehar dan* ‘ask’, *dagada*ⁿ ‘remember’, *hazaheta* ‘like’, *do'halvala* ‘protest’ (table 3). Whereas *a'lla* complementizer can

occur in all environments where *bohush* is found, the latter has more restricted use. Hence, they are not fully interchangeable. Consider the following examples:

(95) [Sha y-ogʔ-ush y-u a'lla] haiytira tso.
 she.REFL.ABS CL2-come-PRTC CL2-is that.COMP informed she.ERG
 ‘She informed that she is coming.’

(96) *[Sha y-ogʔ-ush y-u bohush] haiytira tso.
 she.REFL.ABS CL2-come-PRTC CL2-is that.COMP informed she.ERG
 ‘She informed that she is coming.’

(97) [Sha desha v-oda a'lla] hazaheta tsunna.
 he.REFL.ABS study.INF CL1-go that.COMP like he.DAT
 ‘He is happy that he is going to study.’

(98) [Sha desha v-od-ush v-u bohush] hazaheta tsunna.
 he.REFL.ABS study.INF CL1-go-PRTC CL1-is that.COMP like he.DAT
 ‘He is happy that he is going to study.’

The matrix verb *haiytira* ‘let know’ in (95) is from the set of verbs which select only *a'lla* complement clauses hence the sentence in (96) is ungrammatical as the complement clause contains the complementizer *bohush*. Conversely, in (97) and (98) the matrix verb *hazaheta* ‘like’ takes both *a'lla* and *bohush* clauses.

Another difference between the two elements is that *a'lla*-complement clause can be selected by reporting verb *ala* ‘say’ from which the element is formed but *bohush*-clause cannot be selected by the verb *baha* ‘say’ which the element is originated from.

(99) [Sha v-ogʔur v-u a'lla] elira tso.
 he.REFL.ABS CL1-come.NON-FIN CL1-is COMP said he.ERG
 ‘He said that he will come.’

(100)*[Sha v-ogʔur v-u bohush] bahara tso.

he.REFL.ABS CL1-come.NON-FIN CL1-is COMP said he.ERG

‘He said that he will come.’

As example (99) shows the reporting verb *elira* ‘said’ takes the *a’lla*-clause, while its cognate verb *bahara* ‘said’ in (100) does not take the *bohush* complement clause. It is not clear why this might be the case, but it seems the element *bohush* and the verb *baha* ‘say’ are incompatible. When this complementizer is absent the sentence is grammatical:

(101) [Sha v-ogʔur v-u] bahara tso.

he.REFL.ABS CL1-come.NON-FIN CL1-is said he.ERG

‘He said that he will come.’

Earlier in this section it was noted that these elements are essential for grammaticality of a sentence but there are some exceptions. Here we can observe one of few examples when the *a’lla* element in (101) can be omitted leaving the sentence perfectly grammatical:

(102) [Sha v-ogʔur v-u] elira tso.

himself.REFL.ABS CL1-come.NON-FIN CL1-is said he.ERG

‘He said that he will come.’

3.3.1 Complement clauses marked with a marker -y:

The interrogative marker -y is used in forming yes/no questions in Chechen. It attaches to the finite verb stem (main or auxiliary) as a suffix, as shown in (105) and (106):

(103) H’o y-og-ush y-u-y?

you.ABS CL2-come-PRTC CL2-is-QM

‘Are you coming?’

(104) So y-oli-y ho’-tsa khana?

I.ABS CL2-come-QM you-INSTR tomorrow

‘Shall I come with you tomorrow?’

In both examples the interrogative marker (boldfaced) attaches to the finite verbs, an auxiliary verb *yuy* ‘is’ and the lexical verb *yoliy* ‘come’ in (103) and (104) respectively. As the examples show, there are no particles or question words that are used to form the questions.⁷ This function is solely fulfilled by the *-y* marker.

In forming complement clauses, the homophonous marker *-y* functions as a complementizer also attaching to a stem of finite verb in a form of a suffix, as in (105) and (106):

- (105) [Huna iza gini-**y**] tidam b-ira as.
 you.DAT she.ABS see-COMP notice.ABS CL5-made I.ERG
 ‘I noticed that you saw her.’
- (106) [H’o ara-v-ol-ush v-u-**y**] ditsdellera suna.
 you.ABS out-CL1-go-PRTC CL1-be-COMP forgot I.DAT
 ‘I forgot that you were going out.’

In (105) the morpheme *-y* attaches to the main verb *giniy* ‘see’, and in (106) it attaches to the auxiliary *vuy* ‘be’. As English translation shows, the complement clauses containing the marker *-y* always translate as ‘that’ clauses.

This marker can never attach to a non-finite verb as shown in (109); hence complement clauses formed with it are always finite.

- (107) *[H’o ara-v-ol-ush-**y** v-u] ditsdellera suna.
 you.ABS out-CL1-go-PRTC CL1-be-QU forgot I.DAT
 ‘I forgot that you were going out.’

As shown in table 3 (section 3.1), there is only a limited set of verbs, such as *haiita* ‘let know’, *haa* ‘know’, *kheta* ‘understand’ or *hatta* ‘ask’ that take complement clauses with the

⁷ In fact, yes/no questions in Chechen can be formed even without *-y* marker (Nichols 1994b). This is achieved by intonation:

1) Ho shkol-e y-odu?

you.ABS school-LOC CL2-go

‘Are you going to school?’ (lit. ‘You are going to school?’)

However, yes/no questions formed this way have semantic interpretation different to that of formed with *-y* marker in that a speaker uses this type of questions only if s/he has some presupposed knowledge and wishes to get reassurance.

interrogative marker *-y*. As examples show the interrogative marker is the only element that signals that the clause is a complement, and in fact most of the verbs that take this type of complement clause do not allow other markers. However, few verbs, such as *hatta* ‘ask’ allow the complementizer *a’lla*. Consider the following examples:

- (108) [Sha hartsa y-u-y] khiytira iza.
she.REFL.ABS wrong CL2-be-QM understood she.ABS
‘She understood that she was wrong.’
- (109) *[Sha hartsa y-u-y a’lla] khiytira iza.
she.REFL.ABS wrong CL2-be-QM COMP understood she.ABS
(‘She understood that she was wrong.’)
- (110) [Sha tsakha’cchi-y] haiytira tso.
he.REFL.ABS home.reach-QM informed he.ERG
‘He informed that he returned home.’
- (111) *[Sha tsakhacchi-y a’lla] haiytira tso.
he.REFL.ABS home.reached-QM COMP informed he.ERG
(‘He informed that he returned home.’)
- (112) [Yaa h1umma a y-u-y] ha’ttira tso.
eat.INF thing.ABS CONJ CL2-is-QM asked he.ERG
‘He asked whether there is something to eat.’
- (113) [Yaa h1umma a y-u-y a’lla] ha’ttira tso.
eat.INF thing.ABS CONJ CL2-is-QM say asked he.ERG
‘He asked whether there is something to eat.’

In (108) and (110) the clauses (in brackets) are complements to verbs *kheta* ‘understand’ and *haiita* ‘let know’ which do not allow the use of complementizer *a’lla* as shown in (109) and

(111) respectively; hence the sentences are ungrammatical. In (112) the clause is a complement to the verb *ha'ttira* 'asked' which can take the clause with both an interrogative marker and *a'lla*, but functioning as a reporting verb, not a complementizer. In relation to meaning, there is no major difference between the two sentences; so, the two variants can be used interchangeably.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter offered the description of complementation in Chechen. Chechen employs various types of complement clause and one complementation strategy, in particular, nominalization. There are two main characteristics in complement clauses in Chechen, more specifically, they can be marked with some kind of subordinating marker or have no markers. These mechanisms are also present in other languages. The focus of this chapter was on offering a detailed description of complement clause types and complement-taking verbs in Chechen. The classification of these verbs was based on Dixon's (2010) categorization of semantic types of verbs and complement clause types. Complement-taking verbs take a particular type of complement clause according to the characteristics that are associated with it.

Chapter 4. Adverbial clauses in Chechen

Chechen has various types of adverbial clause including temporal, causal, conditional, result and purpose clauses among others. This chapter investigates each of these types, more specifically their function, morphosyntactic properties and distribution. Special attention is paid to the verbal forms used in adverbial clauses, namely converbs, as these are the most common verbs that occur in this type of subordinate clause. I also discuss subordinating conjunctions which often co-occur with converbs. The chapter also discusses several types of adverbial clause such as conditional clauses as well as purpose and reason clauses which are different from other types of adverbial clause and show various ways of formation. And lastly, I look at word restrictions in adverbial clauses in the light of comparing them to complement and relative clauses.

4.1 General overview of adverbial clauses

As pointed out in Diessel (2001: 433), cross-linguistically there are two types of adverbial clause, namely adverbial clauses occurring either before or after the main clause/predicate and adverbial clauses that only occur before the main clause/predicate. He further classifies languages into six groups based on the distribution of adverbial clause within a sentence (2001: 440). In Diessel's (2001) classification system, Chechen would be a language of type 2, the 'non-rigid' category, which means that this type of language places adverbial clauses before the main clause predicate in unmarked word order, but also allows them to be positioned after the main clause verb. Another language of this type is Turkish.

In Chechen, adverbial clauses tend to precede the main clause as shown in (1) and (2). However, they can also be positioned following the main clause predicate as shown in (3) and (4).

(1) [H'an examena-sh dʔa-yo'vla-cha] haiytalah so'ga.
you.GEN exam.ABS-PL PRVB-finish-after.CNVB let.know I.LOC
'Let me know after you finish your exams.'

(2) [Deshna v-a'lla-chul tʔaha] universitet-e
study.NON-FIN CL1-finish-CNVB after university.LOC-SG
balh-a gʔur v-u iza.
work-LOC go.NON-FIN CL1-is he.ABS
'He will work at university after graduating.'

(3) So'ga haiytalah [h'an examena-sh dʔa-yo'vla-cha].
I.LOC let.know you.GEN exam.ABS-PL PRVB-finish-after.CNVB
'Let me know after you finish your exams.'

(4) Iza universitet-e balh-a gʔur v-u
he.ABS university.SG-LOC work-LOC go.NON-FIN CL1-is
[deshna v-a'lla-chul tʔaha]
study.NON-FIN CL1-finish-CNVB after
'He will work at university after graduating.'

All types of adverbial clause are S(O)V, an unmarked word order in Chechen, and no other word orders are typically found. This is illustrated in sentences (5)-(8), the first two of which are temporal adverbial clauses and the last one is a conditional. The adverbial clauses are shown in square brackets:

(5) [Ho ara-y-ol-ush] ne1 dʔa-kʔovla-lah.

- you.ABS out-CL2-go-when.CNVB door.SG.ABS PRVB-close-IMPER
‘Close the door when leaving.’
- (6) [Ho deshna y-a’lla-chul tʔah’a] sogā haiyta-lah.
you.ABS study.NON-FIN CL2-finish-CNVB after I.LOC let.know-IMPER
‘Let me know after you finish studying.’
- (7) [Sha urok-e y-aha-le] kecham
she.REFL.ABS class.SG-LOC CL2-go-before.CNVB preparation.SG.ABS
b-ira tso.
CL5-make she.EGR
‘She prepared for her class beforehand.’
(lit. ‘Before she went to her class, she prepared for it.’)
- (8) [San han hil-ah] y-ogʔur y-u so.
I.GEN time.SG.ABS be-if.CNVB CL2-come.NON-FIN CL2-is I.ABS
‘If there is time, I will come.’
- (9) *[Ara-y-ol-ush h’o] ne1 dʔa-kʔovla.lah.
out-CL2-go-when.CNVB you.ABS door.SG.ABS PRVB-close.PRES-IMPER
‘Close the door when leaving.’
- (10) *[Deshna y-a’lla-chul h’o tʔah’a] so’ga haiyta-lah.
study.NON-FIN CL2-finish-CNVB you.ABS after I.LOC let.know-IMPER
‘Let me know after you finish studying.’
- (11) *[Urok-e y-aha-le sha] kecham
class.SG-LOC CL2-go-before.CNVB she.REFL.ABS preparation.SG.ABS
b-ira tso.
CL5-made she.EGR
‘She prepared for her class beforehand.’
- (12) *[Han hil-ah san] y-ogʔur y-u so.
time.SG.ABS be-CNVB I.GEN CL2-come.NON-FIN CL2-is I.ABS
‘If there is time, I will come.’

Examples, (5) through (8), where the adverbial clauses exhibit S(O)V word order, are grammatical, whereas in the ungrammatical examples in (9) through (12), the adverbial clauses show a different word order pattern, namely (O)VS, which is often used in main/independent clauses. This (or indeed any other word order) is not acceptable in adverbial clauses. Some

constituents other than direct objects may occur in an adverbial clause, such as the indirect object shown in (7) but the order of the subject and verb is always fixed, i.e. the subject is in clause-initial position and the verb is in clause-final position. The only element that is permitted to follow the predicate in an adverbial clause is a subordinating conjunction, as shown in (6), where the temporal adverbial clause has the conjunction *tʔah'a* ‘after’ following the predicate *ya'llachul* ‘finish’. This is the only position that most of the subordinating conjunctions occur in a clause; they are not found in other environments, such as sentence-initial position, as shown in (9) and (10).

However, there are few conjunctions that are more frequently found in a clause initial position, for instance the conditional conjunction *nagah sanna* ‘if’ and the reason conjunction *hunda alcha* ‘because/for the reason that.’ Consider the following examples with the conjunction *nagah sanna* ‘if’:

(13) [Nagah sanna h'o y-itsl-ah] as dagadoyuytur d-u h'una.
if.CONJ you.ABS CL2-forget-if.CNVB I.ERG remind.NON-FIN CL3-is you.DAT
‘If you forget I will remind you.’

(14) [H'o y-itsl-ah nagah sanna] as dagadoyuytur d-u h'una.
you.ABS CL2-forget-if.CNVB if.CONJ I.ERG remind.NON-FIN CL3-is you.DAT
‘If you forget I will remind you.’

The examples (13) and (14) illustrate the use of the conjunction *nagah sanna* ‘if’ in both clause-initial and clause-final positions. However, as far as syntax and semantics are concerned, there is no difference between the two sentences, except that the version where the conjunction is clause-initially, is more preferred over the other version of the sentence.

Note that there are two elements in these sentences meaning ‘if’, namely a converbal suffix *-ah* and the conjunction *nagah sanna*. The difference between the two is that the presence of the former is essential, whereas the latter can be omitted from the clause with no change to the meaning. Consider the following examples:

(15) [Nagah sanna h'o y-itsl-ah] as dagadoyuytur d-u h'una.

if.CONJ you.ABS CL2-forget-CNVB I.ERG remind.NON-FIN CL3-is you.DAT

‘If you forget I will remind you.’

(16) [H’o y-itsl-ah] as dagadoyuytur d-u h’una.

you.ABS CL2-forget-if.CNVB I.ERG remind.NON-FIN CL3-is you.DAT

‘If you forget I will remind you.’

In (15) the sentence has both the conjunction *nagah sanna* ‘if’ and the verb is formed with the converb suffix *-ah* ‘if’. In (16) the conjunction is absent, but the sentence has the same meaning to that in (15). Further discussion of this type of adverbial clause follows later in the chapter.

Concerning the position of the adverbial clauses in relation to the matrix clause, Diessel (2001: 446) concludes that the position of an adverbial clause tends to correlate with the position of the subordinating conjunctions, i.e. if a conjunction is positioned clause-finally, the adverbial clause precedes the main clause; conversely, if a subordinating conjunction is in clause-initial position the adverbial clause containing it can either precede or follow the main clause. The problem with this claim ((which is also noted by Diessel (2001)) is that some languages do allow adverbial clauses with clause-initial subordinating conjunctions to be positioned sentence-initially, and Chechen is one of them. *Nagah sanna* ‘if’ is one of these conjunctions, as (15) shows. Diessel’s (2001) hypothesis is that certain discourse-pragmatic conditions determine the position of adverbial clauses irrespective of the position of the subordinating conjunction. Thompson and Longacre (1985), Givon (1990) and Diessel (2001) among others, suggest that adverbial clauses are used as a way of organizing the information in a conversation; they ‘are commonly preposed to the main clause in order to provide a ‘framework’ or ‘orientation’ for the interpretation of information expressed in the main clause (and possibly in subsequent clauses)’ (Diessel 2001: 448). So as these researchers suggest, adverbial clauses behave similar to topics in providing presupposed information.

4.2 Subordinating conjunctions and subordinating suffixes

Languages mark adverbial clauses in various ways. As Hacker (1999: 26) points out, there are several markers which signal adverbial clauses (a subordinator being the more frequently occurring marker), more particularly:

- a subordinator;
- a word order different to the main clause;
- non-finiteness or absence of a verb;
- absence of a subject;
- a marking linked to prosody.

Adverbial clauses in Chechen are marked in two specific ways: by subordinating conjunctions and subordinating suffixes. Subordinating conjunctions, similar to complementizers, occur in a form of free words which conjoin clauses. There are a number of subordinating conjunctions in Chechen, such as *nagah sanna* ‘if’, *henah* ‘when’, *tah’a* ‘after’, *halha* ‘before’ etc. Unlike subordinating conjunctions, subordinating suffixes are not free but are bound morphemes that are attached to verbs (more specifically, converbs) in adverbial clauses, for instance, *-ah* ‘if’ or *-ush* ‘when’. As noted above both types of subordinating conjunction can be used in one and the same adverbial clause, as shown in (15) above, where the conditional meaning is signalled by both *nagah sanna* ‘if’ and *-ah* ‘if’.

Most converbal suffixes can form adverbial clauses on their own, apart from temporal *-chu* (which forms a ‘when’ clause), *-chul* (which forms an ‘after’ clause), and causal *-na* (which forms a ‘because’ clause). Converbs that cannot form adverbial clauses on their own require subordinating conjunctions.

Consider the following examples:

(17) [So y-o’d-ush] as hoyuytur du huna.

I.ABS CL2-go-when.CNVB I.ERG let.know.NON-FIN is.PRES Ø

‘I will let you know when I decide to go.’

(18) [So y-o'du-chu henah] as hoyuytur du huna.

I.ABS CL2-go-CNVB when.CONJ I.ERG let.know.NON-FIN is.PRES Ø

'I will let you know when I decide to go.'

(19) [Shen examen dʔa-y-al-cha] so'ga haiytira tso.

she.REFL.GEN exam.SG.ABS PRVB-CL2-finish-after.CNVB ' I.LOC let.know she.ERG

'She let me know after she finished her exam.'

(20) [Shen examen dʔa-y-a'lla-chul tʔaha] so'ga haiytira tso.

she.REFL.GEN exam.SG.ABS PRVB-CL2-finish-CNVB after.CONJ I.LOC let.know she.ERG

'She let me know after she finished her exam.'

These sentences are examples of temporal clauses: (17) and (18) are 'when' clauses, and (19) and (20) are anterior 'after' clauses. (17) and (19) demonstrate adverbial clauses marked with subordinating suffixes *-ush* and *-ch*. They correspond to subordinating conjunctions in terms of bearing the meaning: *-ush* corresponds to 'when' and *-cha* corresponds to 'after'. Conversely, in (18) and (20) the adverbial clauses are marked by both subordinating conjunctions *henah* 'when' and *tʔaha* 'after', and subordinating suffixes *-chu* and *-chul*. Here it is the conjunctions express the meaning of the adverbial clauses, not the suffixes. It is reasonable to suggest that these particular suffixes are meaningless, unlike most of converbal suffixes which express different meanings and therefore can form adverbial clauses on their own. Consider the following:

(21) *[So y-o'du-chu] as hoyuytur du huna.

I.ABS CL2-go-CNVB I.ERG let.know.NON-FIN is.PRES Ø

('I will let you know when I decide to go.')

(22) *[Shen examen dʔa-y-a'lla-chul] sogā

she.REFL.GEN exam.SG.ABS PRVB-CL2-finish-CNVB I.LOC

haiytira tso.

let.know she.ERG

(‘She let me know after she finished her exam.’)

The adverbial clauses in (21) and (22) lack with subordinating conjunctions which results in ungrammaticality.

Cross-linguistic study shows that the position of subordinating conjunctions varies, so it cannot be said that they are restricted to either clause-final or clause-initial position (Dryer 1992). Verb-final languages tend to place subordinating conjunctions in a clause-final position, which is also the case in Chechen. The only exception to this, as we saw in earlier examples, is the conjunction *nagah sanna* ‘if’, which can be found in both clause-final and clause-initial positions.

4.3 Converbs

Let us now consider the converbs in more detail. After establishing the nature of such elements, I then look at the formation and non-finiteness of converbs in Chechen. Next, I discuss the subjects of converbs. Lastly, I discuss the relationships between converbs and subordinating conjunctions.

4.3.1 Definition of converbs and non-finiteness

A simple definition of converbs is given by Haspelmath (1995), who says it is ‘a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination’. For him, ‘converbs are verbal adverbs, just like participles are verbal adjectives’ (Haspelmath 1995: 3). From this, it follows that, syntactically, a converb is embedded as an adverbial so it is subordinate; morphologically, it is a non-finite verb form; and finally, in terms of semantics, the converb can be described as modifying verbs as well as clauses and sentences (Haspelmath 1995: 4-17). With this definition of a converb it is more or less clear where this verb form fits in the

general paradigm of derived verb forms. As Table 1 shows, Haspelmath (1995) places converbs in the same position as other non-finite verb forms, namely verbal nouns and verbal adjectives.

Table 1 Derived verb forms

Word class	Noun	Adjective	Adverb
Derived verb form:	masdar (=verbal noun)	participle (=verbal adjective)	converb (=verbal adverb)
Syntactic function:	argument	adnominal modifier	adverbial modifier

Converbs are mainly found in verb-final languages and have ‘stem-plus-suffix’ structure (Longacre 1985, Haspelmath 1995). Some languages might have one or two converbs as in Darma (Willis 2007); in others there might be a large number of them, as in Nivkh (Nedjalkov 1998). According to Haspelmath (1995) there have been attempts to categorize the converb as a combination of a verb and a complementizer with the motivation to bring the notion of ‘converb’ in line with adverbial clauses in European languages, which display the use of adverbial conjunctions rather than converbs.

Johanson (1995) makes a clear distinction between finite clauses and non-finite clauses which are formed with converbs:

Whereas the finite sentence is optimally marked for aspect, tense, mood, modality, personal reference, and illocution, converb clauses take no mood markers of their own, no ordinary tense markers, only restricted sets of aspect markers, and seldom person and number markers.

Johanson (1995: 316)

In Chechen, converbs are marked with a gender class of nouns but no other marking is displayed, which is also true of other non-finite verbs in the language.

Various types of adverbial clauses in Chechen are formed with the use of converbs. Consider the following examples:

(23) [Universitet-e v-o'd-ush] tsarga chu-v-ahara so.

university.SG-LOC CL1-go-CNVB they.LOC PRVB-CL1-went I

‘On my way to university, I paid them a visit.’

(24) [U'sh balha-ra chu-kha'ch-cha] ?arjyella yara.

they.ABS work-LOC PRVB-come-CNVB dark.get.NON-FIN was

‘It was dark when they arrived home from work.’

(25) [D?a-d-o'lhushsh-eh] d-isthi-r d-u a'lla bart

PRVB-CL3-leave-CNVB CL3-talk-NON-FIN CL3-are CONJ agreement.ABS

b-ira oha.

CL6-made we.ERG

‘They agreed that they will talk on their way.’

(lit. ‘They agreed that they will talk while going.’)

(26) [Shen das v-ahiyt-ah] desha g?u-r v-u iza.

he.REFL.GEN father.ERG CL1-let-CNVB study.INF go-NON-FIN CL1-is he.ABS

‘He will start the university if his father agrees to it.’

Converbs are formed by attaching the converbal suffix to the verb stem.⁸ For instance, (23) is an example of a temporal while-clause which is formed with a converbal suffix *-ush* (more specifically, a participial suffix which is used in adverbial clauses as a converbal suffix; this is discussed in more detail below). In (24) a different type of a temporal adverbial clause is shown, more specifically, a when-clause; the verb has a different suffix *-cha*. (25) is another example of a temporal while-clause, but it is formed with the converbal suffix, *-eh*. The sentence in (26) is an instance of a conditional if-clause which is formed with the converbal suffix *-ah*. As the examples show, these suffixes often express meanings like location, time and space, just like prepositions such as *before* or *until* in English. Consider the examples in (27) and (28):

⁸ When using the term *converb*, I am referring to the whole verb, not just the suffix.

(27) [So y-al-lalts] vay-(g)ah sats-ah.
I.ABS CL2-finish-until.CNVB we.LOC stay-POL.IMPER
'Stay at our place until I finish.'

(28) [Iza sh'akhacha-le] d?a-y-ahara so.
he.ABS CL1-arrive-CNVB PRVB-CL2-left she.ABS
'I had left before he arrived.'

In (27) the subordinate clause *so ya'llalts* 'until I finish' contains the immediate anterior converbal suffix, *-lalts*, which attaches to the verb stem. In (28), the posterior converbal suffix *-le* attaches to the verb stem in a similar fashion and has the meaning of the preposition 'before'.

4.3.3. Subjects of converbs

This section will discuss two different issues in relation to subjects of converbs. First, there is the question whether a converb takes an overt or covert subject and second, whether the subject of a converb is coreferential with that of the main clause. These two issues will be discussed in turn.

In relation to joint and disjoint reference, Nedjalkov (1995) classifies converbs into three categories: a) those that share a subject with a main verb in the associated clause, so called 'same-subject' converbs as in (33); b) those that have a different subject from that of the main clause, so-called 'different-subject' converbs as in (34); and c) converbs that can either take the same subject as the main predicate or their own subject, so-called 'varying-subject' converbs as in (29) and (30):

(29) [Sha mok?a y-al-cha] telefon tuhu-r y-u
she.REFL free CL2-be-CNVB phone.SG.ABS call-NON-FIN CL2-is
tsunga Luiza-s.

she.LOC Luiza-EGR

‘Luiza will give her a call once she is free.’

- (30) [Luiza_i shega_j y-isthilla-chul tʔaha], dʔa-y-hara Madina_j.
Luiza.ABS she.REFL.LOC CL2-talk-CNVB after PRVB-CL2-went Madina.ABS

‘Having talked to Luiza, Madina left.’

- (31) [Sha tsakha’chna-chul tʔaha] Madina urok-ash
she.REFL home.reach-CNVB after Madina.ABS homework.ABS-PL
y-an oh’a-hiira.
CL2-make.NON-FIN PRVB-sat

‘After arriving home Madina started doing her homework.’

- (32) [Madina tsakha’chna-chul tʔaha] Karina dʔa-y-ahara.
Madina.ABS home.reach-CNVB after Karina.ABS PRVB-CL2-went

‘After Madina came home, Karina left.’

In (31) the subject of a converb *sha* ‘herself’ is coreferential with the subject in the superordinate clause *Luizas* ‘Luiza’. On the other hand, the subjects of ‘different-subject’ converbs always show disjoint reference. As example (30) shows, the subject in the main clause, *Madina*, is distinct from the subject of the converb, *Luiza*. Accordingly, the subjects of ‘varying-subject’ converbs can show joint reference as in (29) or disjoint reference as in (30). With regards to the second issue, the overt versus non-overt nature of converb subjects, Haspelmath (1995) proposes the following categorisation. He looks at the way subjects can appear in clauses with converbs, i.e. whether they can be implicit or explicit, and therefore groups converbs into implicit-subject converbs, explicit-subject converbs and free-subject converbs (Haspelmath 1995: 9-10). The sentences in (29) through (32) are instances of explicit-subject converbs. The subject can be expressed implicitly only in clauses with the ‘same-subject’ converbs as (33) shows, but never with ‘different-subject’ converb, as shown in (34):

(33) [Mokʔa y-al-cha] telefon tuhu-r y-u tsunga Luiza-s.
free CL2-be-CNVB phone.SG.ABS call-NON-FIN CL2-is she.LOC Luiza-EGR
'Luiza will give her a call once she is free.'

(34) *[Shega y-isthilla-chul tʔaha], dʔa-y-ahara Madina.
she.REFL.LOC CL2-talk-CNVB after PRVB-CL2-went Madina.ABS
(‘Having listened, Madina left.’)

In (29) the converb takes the subject *sha* ‘herself’. However, here the subject is omitted so it is implicitly expressed and is co-referenced with the main clause subject. In (30) repeated here in (34) the subject of a converb, *Luiza* is also omitted which leads to unacceptability of the sentence.

Based on Nedjalkov’s (1995) and his own observations, Haspelmath (1995: 10) proposes the following classification in relation to subject reference in converbs

Table 2 Subjects of converbs

	Same-subject	Different-subject	Varying-subject
Implicit-subject converb	typical	unusual	unusual
Explicit-subject converb	unusual	typical	unusual
Free-subject converb	unusual	unusual	typical

4.3.4 Converbs and conjunctions

Nedjalkov (1995: 100) notes that in languages which use conjunctions, converbs in Chechen are used very rarely or are absent, whereas in languages with extensive use of converbs, conjunctions play a minor role. For example, in colloquial Russian there are no converbs that express predication (Krasil’nikova 1973: 174); on the other hand, Korean has no conjunctions but has around 60 converbs (Rackov 1958: 40-41). Although semantically adverbial clauses containing converbs and those containing conjunctions have a lot in common, they are always

used interchangeably in those languages where both elements exist (Nedjalkov 1995: 100). As seen in section 4.2, in Chechen some of the converbs and conjunctions are identical in terms of their semantics. For instance, the conjunction *nagah sanna* and the converbal suffix *-ah* have the same meaning ‘if’; however, they cannot be used interchangeably. The presence of converbs is obligatory in adverbial clauses and conjunctions cannot replace them, whereas conjunctions are optional so they may be present or absent in an adverbial clause, co-occurring with a converb if it (a conjunction) is present.

In sum, Chechen displays two types of adverbial clause formed by converbs: those formed with converbs only and those that contain both converbs and conjunctions. The same types of construction are found in other languages, for instance in Japanese. Alpatov and Podlesskaya (1995: 466) refer to these two types as primary converbs and secondary converbs; the former type includes converbs that are formed by means of adding an affix to a verb stem, while in the latter a converb co-occurs with an additional functional element such as a postposition or conjunction. The following table shows the set of converbal suffixes in Chechen, including the postpositions that some of them co-occur with.

4.4.3 Polyfunctionality of subordinators

Some of the subordinating conjunctions demonstrate polyfunctionality, i.e. they combine different types of clause. As Hacker (1999: 38) notes, lexical items which function as prepositions or subordinating conjunctions are most likely to express multiple functions. Among these are subordinators *a'lla* and *bohush* which introduce complement as well as adverbial clauses:

- (35) H'an sagattalora bohush/a'lla balha-ra choh satsa yish y-ats tsu'nan.
you.ERG miss because work.LOC in.LOC stay ability CL2-is.not he.DAT
‘He can’t leave his work just because you miss him.’

Hacker (1999: 39) points out that polyfunctionality is not only found at the level of lexical items but also at clausal level. As she notes when describing Scots, ‘there is a considerable structural identity, both with respect to the clause structure and in finite clauses also with respect to the lexical item in clause-initial position, between adverbial clauses, complement clauses and relative clauses’ (1999: 39). Chechen also often displays this structural identity between complement and adverbial clauses formed with the use of *a’lla* and *bohush* subordinating conjunctions. Consider the following examples:

(36) [H’o tsayog1u a’lla/bohush] chog1a hazahet-ash y-u iza.
you.ABS home.come that very like-PRTC CL2-is she.ABS
‘She is very happy that you are going to visit her.’

(37) [H’o tsayog1u a’lla/bohush] chog1a hazahet-ash y-u iza.
you.ABS home.come because very like-PRTC CL2-is she.ABS
‘She is very happy because you are going to visit her.’

The example in (36) contains a complement clause (in brackets) which is introduced by subordinating conjunction *a’lla/bohush* ‘that’. Here the use of any of the complementizers is similarly acceptable. The sentence in (37) is identical to the preceding sentence but instead of a complement clause it contains an adverbial clause which is also introduced by *a’lla* or *bohush* ‘because’.

4.5 Conditional clauses in Chechen

This section discusses conditionals in Chechen, including their formation and function, as well as the morphosyntactic features they express. It also includes the general discussion of if-clauses in Chechen, the possible types of if-clauses, including a construction which shows great resemblance to the conditional clauses, namely polar questions.

4.5.1 If-clauses in Chechen

There are various possible ways to form if-clauses in Chechen. Not all these types can be categorised as syntactically conditional or in other words, as true conditionals, but they certainly express conditionality. Consider the following examples:

(38) [Ah dika desh-ah], as mashen o'tsa-r y-u huna.
you.ERG well study-if.CNVB I.ERG car.SG.ABS buy-NON-FIN CL2-is you.DAT
'I will buy you a car if you study well.'

(39) [Ah dika doshi-y], as mashen o'tsa-r y-u huna.
you.ERG well study-INT.MAR I.ERG car.SG.ABS buy-NON-FIN CL2-is you.DAT
'I will buy you a car if you study well.'

(40) [Ah dika doshi-y], tlakkha as mashen o'tsa-r y-u huna.
you.ERG well study-INT.MAR then I.ERG car.SG.ABS buy-NON-FIN CL2-is you.DAT
'I will buy a car for you, if you study well.'

(41) [Ah dika desh-ah ben], as huna mashen o'tsa-r y-ats.
you.ERG well study-if.CNVB only I.ERG you.DAT car.SG.ABS buy-NON-FIN CL2-is.not
'I will buy you a car if you study well.'

(42) [Ah dika desh-chahani], as mashen o'tsa-r y-u huna.
you.ERG well study-as.long.as I.ERG car.SG.ABS buy-NON-FIN CL2-is you.DAT
'As long as you study well I will buy you a car.'

(43) [Ah dika desha ah], as huna mashen o'tsa-r y-u huna.
you.ERG well study-INF Ø I.ERG you.DAT car.SG.ABS buy-NON-FIN CL2-is Ø
'You study well (first) and/then I will buy you a car.'

The examples from (38) through (41) are different versions of if-clause in Chechen: (38) is a 'true' conditional clause (in a sense of Haiman 1978) which is formed by the use of suffix *-ah* which attaches to a stem of the verb in the conditional clause; (39) is an example of a polar

question which forms with an interrogative polar marker *-y*; example (40) is also a polar question which is formed with the *-y* suffix and the adverb *tlakkha* ‘then’ and is equivalent to ‘if... then’ clause, and (41) is *-ah ben* construction, which is the equivalent of an English ‘only if’ clause. Examples (42) and (43) are different. They do not have the syntax of conditional clauses, but clearly express conditionality as far as semantics concerned. In (42) the verb in the subordinate clause is formed with the suffix *-chahani* which translates as ‘as long as/as far as’; example (43) is a coordinate sentence where the first clause expresses the condition which needs to be fulfilled for the action in the second clause to take place, similar to the example from English:

(44) You do that and I will never talk to you again.

There are however some special types of if-clause, where the main clause proposition is always true. The following examples (45-46) show types of if-clause and the ungrammatical versions of these examples when formed differently:

Consider the following examples:

(45) H’o matslah/metsa val-ah, stol tleh yaahuma y-u huna.
you.ABS hungry is-if table on.LOC food.ABS CL2-is Ø

‘If you are hungry, there is some food on the table.’

(46) H’o matsloy/metsa huli-y, stol tleh yaahuma y-u huna.
you.ABS hungry is-if table.SG.ABS on.LOC food.ABS CL2-is Ø

‘If you are hungry there is some food on the table.’

(47) *H’o matsal-ah ben stol tleh yaahuma yats huna.
you.ABS hungry-if only table.SG.ABS on.LOC food.ABS CL2-is.not Ø

‘Only if you are hungry, there is some food on the table.’

(48) *H’o matsa vel-chahani, stol tleh yaahuma y-u huna.
you.ABS hungry is.as long as table.SG.ABS on.LOC food.ABS CL2-is Ø

‘As long as you are hungry, there is some food on the table.’

(49) *H’o matsa lo h’o, tlakkha stol tleh yaahuma y-u huna.

you.ABS hungry-if be Ø then table on.LOC food.ABS CL2-is Ø

‘You become hungry, then there is some food on the table.’

While examples (45) and (46) are perfectly grammatical sentences, examples (47), (48) and (49) are not. In (45) and (46), the proposition in a main clause does not depend on whether the proposition in a conditional clause is true, as in either case the proposition in the main clause holds true. In (47)-(49) we can observe that the meanings of ‘only if, ‘as long as’ and ‘if... then’ are not compatible with this kind of special if-clause, because they imply that the main clause proposition is not always true; this seems to apply equally to English and Chechen. The proposition in the main clause fully depends on whether the proposition in the conditional clause is true, if it is not, then the sentence has an absurd reading, such as if you are not hungry there is no food on the table.

4.5 Conditional clauses in Chechen: if-clauses and if-clauses with conjunctions *nagah/nagah sanna*

There are two ways to form conditional clauses (‘true’ conditionals, as referred to in Haiman 1978) in Chechen, first, by the use of a suffix *-ah* ‘if’, and second, by use of the suffix *-ah* ‘if’ plus a subordinating conjunction. In relation to conjunctions, there are two conjunctions *nagah* or *nagah sanna* both translating as ‘if’, which can introduce conditional clauses. First consider the clauses which are formed with the suffix *-ah* ‘if’:

(50) [Suna ditsl-ah], dagadaitalah suna.

I.DAT forget-if.CNVB remind me.DAT

‘If I forget, remind me.’

(51) Dada-s h’o park-e v-u’gur v-u, [ah dika desh-ah].

dad-ERG you.ABS park.SG-LOC CL1-take.NON-FIN CL1-is you.ERG well study-if.CNVB

‘Your dad will take you to the amusement park, if you study well.’

These examples demonstrate conditional clauses, which are formed with the use of the suffix

-ah. The conditional clause (in brackets) in (50) appears in a position preceding the main clause. This type of clause always displays the S(O)V word order. In relation to the main clause, there is some variation. When the main clause appears in a sentence-final position it shows V(O)S, as in (50), while in a sentence-initial position, as shown in (51), it exhibits S(O)V word order. In (51) the subordinate clause is in a sentence-final position; the word order within the clause remains SV. The example in (84) shows the type of a conditional clause which is more often found in Chechen.

As it was shown in the previous section, conditional clauses show great resemblance to polar questions. We find enough evidence from other languages on the resemblance of the conditional clauses and polar questions (Haiman 1978). Lewis (1967: 267) gives an example from Turkish which allows for polar interrogative suffix *-mI* is used instead of the conditional suffix *-sA*. Similarly, in Mayan Tzotzil, the conditional suffix *mi* ‘if’ and the polar question marker *mi* ‘whether’ are identical (Cowan 1969: 21, 76).

(52) [Suna ditslo-y], dagadaitalah suna.
I.DAT forget-INT.MAR remind me.DAT
‘If I forget, remind me.’

(53) [Ah dika deshi-y] dada-s h’o park-e v-u’gur v-u,
you.ERG well study-if.CNVB dad-ERG you.ABS park.SG-LOC CL1-take.NON-FIN CL1-is
‘If you study well, you dad will take you to the amusement park.’

Despite the resemblance with the conditional clauses, polar questions in Chechen demonstrate some differences. From such differences is the fixed position of the main and subordinate clauses, i.e. the if-clause clause has to always appear in a position preceding the main clause, whereas in the conditional clause there can be a variation in the position of the main and subordinate clause. The following examples are illustrative⁹:

⁹ These sentences (with clauses in this particular word order) are grammatical if they are formed with the conditional suffix *-ah*:

1) As sovg1at d-iy-r d-u h’una [ah’ dika do’sh-ah].
I present.SG.ABS CL3-do-NON-FIN CL3-is you you well study-if.CNVB
‘I will give you a present if you study well.’

- (54) *As sovg1at d-iy-r d-u h'una [ah dika doshi-y]
I.ERG present.SG.ABS CL3-do-NON-FIN CL3-is you.DAT you.ERG well study.if
'I will give you a present if you study well.'
- (55) *Ma yaa [h'ayn tsa y-ezi-y]
not eat you.DAT not CL2-like-if
'Don't eat if you don't like it.'

The word order in both main and subordinate clauses is S(O)V, as shown in (54) and (55). As previous examples (52)-(53) demonstrated, this word order is rigid in a conditional clause. In relation to the main clause, the word order is more flexible, as the examples show:

- (56) [Ah dika doshi-y], sovg1at d-iy-r d-u h'una as.
you.ERG well study-INTR.MRK present.SG.ABS CL3-do-NON-FIN CL3-is you.DAT I.ERG
'I will give you a present if you study well.'
- (57) [Ah dika doshi-y], as d-iy-r du h'una sovg1at.
you.ERG well study-if I.ERG CL3-do-NON-FIN CL3-is you.DAT present.SG.ABS
'I will give you a present if you study well.'

Now let us take a look at the conditional clauses with the conjunctions:

- (58) Nagah/nagah sanna iza y-ag1-ah, sogahaitalah.
CONJ she.ABS CL2-come-if.CNVB I.LOC let.know
'Let me know if she comes.'
- (59) Nagah/nagah sanna iza y-og-ush hil-ah, sogahaitalah.
CONJ she.ABS CL2-come-PRTC be-if.CNVB I.LOC let.know
'Let me know if she is coming.'
- (60) Nagah/nagah sanna iza y-og-ush hul-iy, sogahaitalah.
CONJ she.ABS CL2-come-PRTC be-if I.LOC let.know
'Let me know if she is coming.'

2) Ma yaa [h'ayn tsa ez-ah].
not eat you.DAT not like-if.CNVB
'Don't eat if you don't like it.'

The conjunction *nagah/nagah sanna* almost always appears in a clause-initial position and is rarely found in a clause-final position (see section 4.1 for more detail). It is completely optional so can be easily omitted leaving perfectly formed sentences:

(61) Iza y-ag1-ah, so'ga haitalah.
she.ABS CL2-come-if.CNVB I.LOC let.know
'Let me know if she comes.'

(62) Iza y-og-ush hil-ah, so'ga haitalah.
she.ABS CL2-come-PRTC be-if.CNVB I.LOC let.know
'Let me know if she is coming.'

(63) Iza y-og-ush hul-iy, so'ga haitalah.
she.ABS CL2-come-PRTC be-if I.LOC let.know
'Let me know if she is coming.'

Now consider the types of if-clauses formed with suffix *-ah*:

(64) Ah dika desh-ah, as mashen o'tsa-r y-u h'una.
you.ERG well study-if.CNVB I.ERG car.SG.ASB buy-NON-FIN CL2-is you.DAT
'If you study well, I will buy you a car.'

(65) Ah dika desha-h'ara, as mashen o'tsa-r y-ara h'una.
you.ERG well study-if I.ERG car.SG.ASB buy-NON-FIN CL2-would you.DAT
'If you studied well, I would buy you a car.'

(66) Ah dika deshne-h'ara, as mashen ets-na hira y-ara h'una.
you.ERG well study.if I.ABS car.SG.ABS buy-NON-FIN would CL2-be you.DAT
'If you have studied well, I would have bought you a car.'

The conditional clause of the first type is formed using a present tense verb and the suffix *-ah*, which makes the clause conditional; the verb in a main clause is also in present. The conditional clause of the second type is formed with the allomorph *-h* of the same conditional suffix *-ah*

which attaches to the past tense verb, the main clause verb is also in past. Similarly, the conditional clause of the third type is formed with the suffix *-h* attached to the verb in past perfect, the main clause appears in the same tense.

4.4 Purpose and reason clauses

Purpose and reason clauses express different events: the events which are expressed by purpose clauses must be unrealized at the time when the event in the main clause takes place, as opposed to the events expressed by reason clauses, which may be realized. In this section I discuss these two types of adverbial clause in Chechen.

4.4.1 Purpose clauses

There are different types of purpose clause: infinitive purpose clauses, *-rham* purpose clauses, participial purpose clauses and causative purpose clauses. This section will discuss each of these types in turn.

Infinitive purpose clauses and *-rham* clauses show a similar structure. The latter are formed with a different type of non-finite verb, which comprises an infinitive verb and an additional suffix *-rham*. Consider the following examples:

(67) Tahana [g1ala v-aha] 1uyranna halag1a'ttira so.

today city CL1-go.INF morning got.up I.ABS

'Today I got up early to travel to the capital city.'

(68) Tahana [g1ala v-aha-rham] 1uyranna halag1a'ttira so.

today city CL1-go.INF-NON-FIN morning got.up I.ABS

'Today I got up early in order to travel to the capital city.'

These sentences have the same structure except for a different verb form, *vaha* ‘to go’ and *yaharham* ‘in order to go’ in (67) and (68) respectively. Subjects in both types of purpose clause are omitted, in fact this is typical for this type of clause. Co-referential subjects only appear in non-finite purpose clauses as overt in matrix and notional in subordinate clauses, and different subjects never appear in these types of purpose clause¹⁰:

(69) *Tahana [iza g1ala v-aha] luyranna halag1a’ttira so.
today he.ABS city.SG.ABS CL1-go.INF morning got.up I.ABS
(‘Today I got up early for him to travel to the capital city.’)

(70) *Tahana [u’sh g1ala b-aha-rham] luyranna halag1a’ttira so.
today they.ABS city.SG.ASB CL5-go-in.order.to morning got.up I.ABS
(‘Today I got up early in order for them to travel to the capital city.’)

In (69) and (70) the matrix and subordinate clauses do not share the same subject but contain different subjects, *so* ‘I’ in main clause and *iza* ‘he’ in the purpose clause in (69), and *so* ‘I’ in the main clause and *u’sh* ‘they’ in the purpose clause in (70) respectively.

Another type of purpose clause is formed with the use of participle. Consider the following examples:

(71) [Sha g1ala glu-r vol-ush] lurre halag1a’ttira iza.
he.REFL.ABS city.SG.ABS go-NON-FIN be-PRTC morning got.up he.ABS
(‘He got up early in order to travel to the capital city.’)

(72) [Sha shellu-r yots-ush] t1e h1uma y-uyhira tso.
she.REFL.ABS feel.cold-NON-FIN not-be-PRTC PRVB thing.SG.ABS CL2-wore she.ERG

¹⁰ It is worth noting that different subjects can occur in this type of clause if a causative is used. Consider the examples (46) and (47) listed as (1) and (2) with verbs in causative:

- 1) Tahana iza g1ala vah-iyta lu’rre h’alag1a’ttira so.
today he.ABS city.SG.ABS go-make.CAUS morning got.up I.ABS
(‘Today I got up early in the morning for him (to make him) travel to the capital city.’)
- 2) Tahana u’sh g1ala bah-iyta-rham lu’rre h’alag1a’ttira so.
today they.ABS city.SG.ABS go-make.CAUS-in.order.to morning got.up I.ABS
(‘Today I got up early in the morning in order for them (to make them) to travel to the capital city.’)

‘She wore warm clothes so that she was not cold.’

In (71) the purpose clause contains two verbs, the non-finite *glur* ‘go’ and the auxiliary verb with a participial suffix, *volush* ‘being’. Similarly, the predicate in (72) is composed of the non-finite verb *shellur* ‘be cold’ and the participial verb *yotsush* ‘not being’. In this type of clause, the subject can be the same or different to that in a matrix clause. When the subjects are co-referential the following scenarios are possible. It can be present in both the main and subordinate clause, as shown in (71) and (72) or be present in the main and omitted from the subordinate clause. The subjects in the main clauses are personal pronouns *iza* ‘he’ and *tso* ‘she’ in (71) and (72) respectively; the purpose clauses contain the reflexive pronoun *sha* ‘himself’ and ‘herself’ (the form is the same for masculine and feminine) which is co-referential with the respective matrix subjects, which is always the case, so this type of pronouns never occur in different-subject clauses. The use of reflexive pronouns is typically not obligatory, so they can be easily omitted leaving perfectly grammatical sentences:

(73) [G1ala glu-r vol-ush] lurre halag1a’ttira iza.
city go-NON-FIN be-PRTC morning got.up he.ABS
‘He got up early to travel to the capital city.’

(74) [Shellu-r y-ots-ush] t1e h1uma y-uyhira tso.
cold-NON-FIN CL2-not-be-PRTC PRVB thing.SG.ABS CL2-wore she.ERG
‘She wore warm clothes in order to not be cold.’

The following is an example of a different-subject sentence (where the purpose and main clauses do not share the same subject):

(75) [U’sh g1ala glu-r bol-ush] lurre halag1a’ttira iza.
they city.SG.ABS go-NON-FIN be-PRTC morning got.up he.ABS
‘He got up early so that they could travel to the capital city.’

When the subject is non-coreferential it cannot be omitted from the subordinate clause as it is the case in coreferential clauses, as shown in (76) and (77):

(76) [U'sh g1ala g1u-r bol-ush] lurre halag1a'ttira iza.
they city.SG.ASB go-NON-FIN be-PRTC morning got.up he.ABS
'He got up early so that they could travel to the capital.'

(77) [Iza shellu-r y-ots-ush] t1e h1uma
she.ABS cold-NON-FIN CL2-not.be-PRTC PRVB thing.SG.ABS
y-ohi-yt-ira tso.
CL2-wear-CAUS-PAST he.ERG

'He made her to wear warm clothes so that she would not be cold.'

Another way of forming purpose clauses is by use of causative construction which is formed by the addition of a causative suffix *-yt* to the verb stem in past, as shown in (77). However, this construction has two variations depending on the type of a subject in a purpose clause. The verb forms as described with any type of subject except for the first person singular subjects. They require a modal verb for the causative suffix to get attached to, as shown in (78):

(78) Tahana [iza g1ala v-ahi-yt-a] luyranna halag1a'ttira so.
today he.ABS city.SG.LOC CL1-go-CAUS-INF morning got.up I.ABS
'Today I got up early to make/let him to travel to the capital city.'

(79) Tahana [shu g1ala dahi-yt-a] luyranna halag1a'ttira so.
today you.ABS city.SG.LOC go-CAUS-INF morning got.up I.ABS
'Today I got up early to make/let you travel to the capital city.'

(80) *Tahana [so g1ala v-ahi-yt-a] luyranna halag1attira so.
today I.ABS city.SG.LOC CL1-go-CAUS-INF morning got.up I.ABS
('Today I got up early to make/let myself travel to the capital city.')

In (79) and (80) the subjects of the purpose clauses are personal pronouns *iza* ‘he’ (3rd singular) and *shu* ‘you’ (2nd plural), so the causative construction is simply formed with the addition of the respective suffix to the verb stem *vah-* (go). In (80) however this is not the case as the subject is 1st singular *so* ‘I’, hence the ungrammaticality of the sentence.

What makes this construction different from other types of purpose clause is that it requires the presence of a subject, so it can never be omitted:

- (81) Tahana [(**iza*) g1ala vahi-yt-a] halag1attira so.
today (*he) city go-CAUS-INF got.up I.ABS
‘Today I got up to let/make (*him) travel to the capital city.’

4.4.3 Reason clauses

There are several types of reason clause: *deela*-construction which was mentioned above, *bahan*-construction and the construction introduced by *hunda a'lcha* ‘because’. I will introduce each construction with all possible variations.

- (82) [Desha deza deela] bibliotek-e y-ahara so.
study.INF have because library.SG-LOC CL2-went I.ABS
‘I went to the library because I had to study.’

The construction *deela* can be finite or non-finite. The example in (82) is finite containing a predicate composed of infinitive verb *desha* ‘study’ and a finite modal verb *deza* ‘have to’. It is typical for this type of construction to contain these verb forms. The subject of a verb in a subordinate clause is normally omitted as shown in the example, however it can be present:

- (83) [Aysa desha deza deela] bibliotek-e y-ahara so.
myself.ERG study.INF have because library.SG-LOC CL2-went I.ABS
‘I went to the library because I had to study.’

The subject *aysa* ‘myself’ is a reflexive pronoun which is co-referenced with the main clause subject *so* ‘I’. The reflexive appears in ergative which is the only form of subject that is permissible. Non co-referenced subjects can also be used in this type of construction:

- (84) [Tso desha deza deela] d1a-y-ahara so.
she.ERG study.INF have because PRVB-CL2-left I.ABS
‘I left because she had to study.’

In (84) the main and subordinate clauses have different subjects, the subject in a subordinate clause *tso* ‘she’ and main clause subject *so* ‘I’. Similar to the reflexive pronoun *aysa* ‘myself’ in (83), *tso* ‘she’ is marked with ergative however *tso* ‘she’ is a personal pronoun, not a reflexive.

The next type of *deela*-construction is a non-finite construction which typically comprises a participle verb and an auxiliary, as shown in (85):

- (85) [Sha desha dez-ash y-olu deela] bibliotek-e y-ahara iza.
she study.INF have-PRTC CL2-be because library.SG-LOC CL2-went she.ABS
‘She went to the library because she had to study.’

The subject in this type of construction can also be present as in this example or be omitted without any change to the meaning as shown in (86):

- (86) [Desha dez-ash yolu deela] bibliotek-e y-ahara iza.
study.INF have-PRTC be because library.SG-LOC CL2-went she.ABS
‘She went to the library because she had to study.’

The second type of reason clauses is *bahan*-construction. It is a non-finite construction formed with a nominalized verb. As the name suggests, the clause is introduced by the subordinating

conjunction *bahan* ‘reason’, which can be accompanied by a participle verb. Consider the following examples:

(87) [Shega iza v-isthilar bahan-an], oyla hiytsaelira tsu’nan.

she.LOC he.ABS CL1-talk reason-DAT thought.SG.ABS changed she.GEN

‘She changed her mind after having a talk with him.’

(lit. ‘She changed her mind for the reason that he talked to her.’)

(88) [Shega iza v-isthilar bahan dol-ush], oyla hiytsaelira tsu’nan.

she.LOC he.ABS CL1-talk for.reason thought.SG.ABS changed she.GEN

‘She changed her mind after having a talk with him.’

(lit. ‘For the sole reason that he had a talk with her, she changed her mind.’)

In (87) the purpose clause contains the nominalized verb *visthilar* ‘talking’ and the complementizer *bahan* ‘reason’ which occurs in a clause-final position following the verb, a typical position for a complementizer in Chechen. The sentence in (88) demonstrates the use of the complementizer with a participle *bahan dolush* ‘for the reason’. Structurally both sentences are identical.

The last type of purpose clause is *hunda alcha* construction. There are several variations of this type of clause in terms of their structure, however they are similar in that they always contain a finite verb and are introduced by the subordinating conjunction *hunda alcha* ‘because/for the reason that’. Consider the following example:

(89) San oyla hiytsaelira [hunda alcha iza so’ga v-isthilara].

I.GEN thought changed because he.ABS I.LOC CL1-talked

‘I changed my mind for the reason/because he had a conversation with me.’

In (89) the purpose clause is formed with a finite verb *visthilara* ‘talked’ and is introduced by the complementizer *hunda alcha* ‘because’ which occupies a clause-initial position unlike most complementizers in Chechen.

The following examples illustrate the use of *hunda alcha*-construction in a main clause:

(90) As oyla hunda hiytsira huna alcha, [iza sogav-isthilla deela].

I.ERG thought.ABS because changed Ø he.ABS I.LOC CL1-talked because

‘I changed my mind for the reason/because he had a conversation with me.’

(91) As oyla hunda hiytsira huna alcha, [iza sogav-isthilar

I.ERG thought.ABS because changed Ø he.ABS I.LOC CL1-talked

bah’an dolush].

for.reason

‘I changed my mind for the reason/because he had a conversation with me.’

These sentences are different to all previous examples of subordinate clause in that both main and subordinate clauses contain complementizers. In (90) the purpose clause (in brackets) is an example of *deela* finite clause similar to examples seen earlier, however the main clause also contains a complementizer. *Hunda alcha* in this type of clause has a different use occurring as two elements in the position preceding and following the main verb as shown in (91). This type of construction can be compared to English sentences such as, ‘I changed my mind for this reason/for the following reason, namely because he talked to me’ with ‘for this reason/for the following reasons as it were pointing to the reason-clause. It seems that in Chechen, the form *hunda alcha* can be used in the meaning ‘for this/the following reason’ but also the meaning ‘because’. The same kind of multi-functionality existed in Old English for the word *tha*, which could act as the subordinator ‘when’ but also as the adverb ‘then’ (in sentences like ‘When you come, then we will talk’, which in Old English would be like ‘*tha* you come, *tha* will we talk’ (Links, van Kemenade and Grondelaers 2017). Items like ‘then’ and ‘for this/the following reason’ are sometimes called correlative elements (Demirok and Öztürk 2021). The fact that the Chechen correlative item here consists of two words, which are split up when acting as an adverb, adds to the complexity.

4.6.1 Word order patterns in subordinate clauses in Chechen

Although the basic word order manifested in Chechen is SOV, other word orders such as OVS and ¹¹VSO are also possible. The former occurs very commonly, sometimes interchangeably with the unmarked SOV word order; while the latter only occurs in a specific environment, namely focus. Consider examples (92) through (94):

- (92) Iza ekzamen-ash dʔa-lush y-u.
she.ABS exam.ABS-PL PRVB-give.PTCP CL2-is
'She is taking her exams.'
- (93) Examen-ash dʔa-lush y-u iza.
exam.ABS-PL PRVB-give.PTCP CL2-is she.ABS
'She is taking her exams.'
- (94) Dʔa-lush-m y-u tso u'sh.
PRVB-give.PTCP CL2-is she.ERG they.PL.ABS
'She is taking her exams.' (lit. 'Taking, she is them (exams).')

In (92) the sentence is manifesting the basic SOV order. The second example differs in that the subject *iza* 'she' is no longer in the sentence-initial position but appears in a final position in a sentence therefore instantiating OVS word order. Crucially, the constituent, i.e. the direct object *examenash* 'exams' is not focused, which is the case with VSO order shown in (94). The constituent that appears clause-initially is the VP, *dʔalush-m yu* 'is taking'. This sentence presupposes that there is particular context or a set situation in which this type of sentence would be acceptable, for instance, (94) would be an answer to the following question:

- (95) Tsunan examen-(a)sh-ah hun hu'l-ush d-u?
her-GEN exam-PL-ALL what be-PTCP CL3-is
'How is she doing with her exams?'

¹¹ One of the informants stated that this word order is less natural than the SOV word order. However, he accepted that it is a perfectly acceptable sentence of Chechen.

The sentences in (96) - (98) are simple sentences. The same variation in word order is observed when these clauses occur with subordinate clauses, namely adverbial clauses: Consider the following examples:

- (96) [Shena hala d-oll-usheh] tso ekzamen-(a)sh
 she.GEN.REFL difficult CL3-be-CNVB she.ABS exam.ABS-PL
 dʔa-lush y-u.
 PRVB-give.PTCP CL2-is
 ‘She is taking her exams, even though it is difficult for her.’
- (97) [Shena hala d-oll-usheh] examen-ash dʔa-lush
 she.REFL.DAT difficult CL3-be-CNVB exam.ABS-PL PRVB-givePTCP
 y-u iza.
 CL2-is she.ABS
 ‘She is taking her exams, even though it is difficult for her.’
- (98) [Shena hala d-oll-usheh] dʔa-lush-m y-u
 she.REFL.GEN difficult CL3-be-CNVB PRVB-give.PTCP-TOP CL2-is
 tso u’sh.
 she.ERG they.ABS
 ‘Taking, she is them (exams), even if it is difficult for her.’

Sentences in (96) through (98) show that main clauses allow free word order. However, for the adverbial clauses (in brackets) this is not the case, as (99) and (100) demonstrate:

- (99) *[Hala shena d-oll-usheh] iza ekzamen-ash
 difficult she.REFL.GEN CL3-be-CNVB she.ABS exam.ABS-PL
 dʔa-lush y-u.
 PRVB-give.PTCP CL2-is
 (‘She is taking her exams, even though it is difficult for her.’)
- (100) *[d-oll-usheh shena hala] iza ekzamen-ash
 CL3-be-CNVB she.REFL.DAT difficult she.ABS exam.ABS-PL
 dʔa-lush y-u.
 PRVB-give.PTCP CL2-is
 (‘She is taking her exams, even though it is difficult for her.’)

The examples (99) and (100) show that adverbial clauses are resistant to changes in word order, no word order except for SOV is permitted. Other types of adverbial clause show the same restriction:

- (101) [Iza desha y-od-ah], tsunan vosha gʔu-r
 iza.ABS study.INF CL3-go-CNVB she.GEN brother.ABS go-NON-FIN
 v-u tsuntsa.
 CL1-is she.INSTR
 ‘If she starts her studies her brother will join her.’
- (102) *[Desha iza y-od-ah/ *y-od-ah iza], tsun-an
 study.INF she.ABS CL2-go-CNVB/CL2-go-CNVB she.ABS she.GEN
 vosha gʔu-r v-u tsuntsa.
 brother.ABS go-NON-FIN CL1-is she.INSTR
 (‘If she starts her studies her brother will join her.’)
- (103) [Shen urok-(a)sh chekh-y-alcha], tsa-y-ahara iza.
 she.GEN class.ABS-PL finish-CL2-be.CNVB home-CL2-went she.ABS
 ‘When she finished her classes, she went home.’
- (104) *[Urok-ash shen chekh-y-alcha/ *chekh-y-alcha urok-ash
 class.ABS-PL she.GEN finish-CL2-be.CNVB/finish-CL2-be.CNVB class.ABS-PL
 shen], tsa-y-ahara iza.
 she.GEN home-CL2-went she.ABS
 ‘When she finished her classes, she went home.’
- (105) [Sha avtobus-an tʔah-y-issina deela] balh-a tsa
 she.REFL.ABS bus.SG-DAT after-CL2-stay.CNVB because work-LOC not
 y-ahara iza.
 CL2-went she.ABS
 ‘She did not go to work because she was late for the bus.’
- (106) [*Avtobus-an sha tʔah-y-issina dela/ *tʔah-y-issina
 bus.SG-DAT she.REF.ABS after-CL2-stay.CNVB because/after-CL2-stay.CNVB
 sha avtobus-an deela] balh-a tsa y-ahara iza.
 she.REFL.ABS bus.SG-DAT because work.LOC not CL2-went she.ABS
 ‘She did not go to work because she was late to the bus.’

These sentences are examples of temporal (101) and conditional (103) adverbial clauses, and (106) are examples of adverbial clauses of reason; (102), (104) and (106) are ungrammatical versions of each of these clauses respectively. All grammatical examples manifest the same pattern, and no movement of constituents is observed. Crucially, other types of subordinate clause, such as complement and relative clauses, also display similarity to adverbial clauses in that they restrict changes in word order. I am providing one example for each type of clause:

The following are examples of complement clauses:

- (107) Suna [kniga y-azyan] la'a.
I.GEN book.SG.ABS CL2-write.INF want
'I want to write a book.'
- (108) [Kniga y-azyan] laa suna.
book.SG.ABS CL2-write.INF want I.GEN
'I want to write a book.'
- (109) *Suna [y-azyan kniga] laa.
I.GEN CL2-write.INF book.SG.ABS want
'I want to write a book.'
- (110) [Ah i kehat dosh-ush] dagadogʔu suna.
you.ERG that letter.SG.ABS read.PRTC remember I.DAT
'I remember you reading that letter.'
- (111) Suna dagadogʔu [ah i kehat dosh-ush].
I.DAT remember you.EGR that letter.SG.ABS read.PRTC
'I remember you reading that letter.'
- (112) [*i kehat ah dosh-ush/*dosh-ush ah i
that letter.SG.ABS you.ERG read.PRTC/read.PRTC you.ERG that
kehat] dagadogʔu suna.
letter.SG.ABS remember I.DAT
'I remember you reading that letter.'

Now let us have a look at relative clauses:

- (113) [Vay-ga selhana ea-na y-olu] zuda vay-n
we-LOC yesterday come-NON-FIN CL2-be woman.SG.ABS we-GEN
gergara hilla.
relative.SG.ABS was
'The woman that visited us yesterday turned out to be our relative.'
- (114) Vayn gergara hilla [vay-ga selhana ea-na y-olu]
we-GEN relative.SG.ABS was we-LOC yesterday come-NON-FIN CL2-be
zuda.
woman.SG.ABS
'The woman that visited us yesterday turned out to be our relative.'
- (115) [*vay-ga ea-na y-olu selhana /*eana y-olu vay-ga selhana]
we-LOC come-NON-FIN CL2-was yesterday /come CL2-was we-LOC yesterday
zuda vay-n gergara hilla.
woman.SG.ABS we-GEN relative.SG.ABS was
'The woman that visited us yesterday turned out to be our relative.'
- (116) [Sotsa desh-na y-olu] yo? duhalkhiytira suna.
I.INSTR study-NON-FIN CL2-be girl.SG.ABS met I.DAT
'I met the girl that was studying with me.'
- (117) Suna [sotsa desh-na y-olu] yo? duhalkhiytira.
I.DAT I.INSTR study-NON-FIN CL2-be girl.SG.ABS met
'I met the girl that was studying with me.'
- (118) [*Desh-na sotsa y-olu/*desh-na y-olu sotsa]
study-NON-FIN I.INSTR CL2-be/study-NON-FIN CL2-be I.INSTR
yo? dohalkhiytira suna.
girl.ABS.SG met I.DAT
'I met the girl that was studying with me.'

These examples of complement clauses in (107) through (112) and relative clauses in (113) through (118) show that similar to adverbial clauses, these types of subordinate clause are also restricted to SOV word order pattern.

The above seen examples show that it is only root clauses that have a flexible word order, whereas embedded clauses, including adverbial, complement and relative clauses are restricted to a single word order. These phenomena are exclusively observed in main clauses, therefore, in the literature it is referred to as main clause phenomena, which I will turn to now.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter offered a description of adverbial clauses in Chechen. Different types of adverbial clauses were described, including adverbial clauses of reason, manner, conditional as well as temporal clauses. The adverbial clauses are formed with a non-finite form of a verb, namely converb. Another characteristic of this type of subordinate clause is that it contains various conjunctions for introducing adverbial clauses.

Chapter 5. Relative clauses in Chechen

This chapter discusses the third major type of subordinate clause, namely relative clauses in Chechen. Similar to previously discussed complement and adverbial clauses, we look at different types of relative clause found in Chechen, including their formation, structure and distribution. The focus is placed on major differences found among languages in their treatment of relativization, such as how Chechen marks the position of a relativized noun, what are the grammatical functions which can be relativized, what is the position of a relative clause in relation to the main clause and whether the language makes use of any sort of relativizer or relative pronoun. The chapter will also discuss different types of verb which are found in Chechen relative clauses. Relative clauses in Chechen are not formed with one specific type of verb, the way other types of subordinate clause are, for example use of converbs in adverbial clauses, which is the only verb form used in this type of subordinate clause. There are various types of verb which occur in relative clauses but they all share one common feature, which is non-finiteness, so finite relative clauses do not occur in the language. The discussion will be

mostly focused on restrictive relative clauses but there will be some discussion of non-restrictive relative clauses, highlighting how they differ from restrictive relative clauses. The language also demonstrates other types of relative clause such as non-embedded relative clauses and headless relative clauses. Non-embedded relative clauses are distinct in that they use a specific relative marker *duy/dats* in the relativized position and a pronoun which occurs in a main clause. Headless relative clauses are also distinctive in that they use a nominalized verb.

5.1 Overview of relative clauses in Chechen

There are few types of relative clause in Chechen, including restrictive relative clauses which function as modifiers of their head noun, non-restrictive relative clauses, non-embedded relative clauses and headless relative clauses. Although each of these types demonstrates a relatively similar syntactic structure, they have some distinctive features which are restricted to each particular type of relative clause. Each type will be discussed in turn.

Restrictive relative clauses are most common in Chechen. They are not introduced by the kind of relative pronouns that are typically found in many European languages. The normal position for relative clauses in Chechen is preceding their head noun, which is not surprising given that this is a verb-final language. Not all NP positions can be relativized and those which can include subject, direct object and object of postposition. Chechen uses two strategies for marking the relativized position, more specifically a gapping strategy and a resumptive pronoun strategy. The gapping strategy is dominant in the language, while the resumptive pronoun strategy is only used to mark the position of possessor nouns and relativized indirect objects. We will see examples of both strategies in a later section.

Cross-linguistic work on relative clauses identified four different possibilities with respect to the position that a relative clause can occupy in relation to the head noun, in particular: relative clause preceding the head noun (prenominal position), the relative clause following the head noun (postnominal position), the head noun occurring within the clause (so-called internally-headed relatives) and relative clauses without a head noun (headless relatives) (Jany 2007: 431). From these four possibilities in Chechen, we find relative clauses predominantly preceding their head noun and headless relative clauses; internally headed relative clauses are not found in the language.

The relative clause in Chechen occupies the same position as generally NP modifiers do, as for instance, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, genitives etc., i.e. the position preceding the noun.

The following examples are illustrative:

Nouns modified by adjectives:

- (1) Dokkha ts1a
big house.SG.ABS
'a big house'

- (2) K1ena ditt
old tree.SG.ABS
'an old tree'

Nouns modified by numerals:

- (3) Kho k1olam
three pencil.SG.ABS
'three pencils'

- (4) Phi stag
five man.SG.ABS
'five men'

Nouns modified by quantifiers:

- (5) Th'a k1ezzig yaah'uma
a little/some food.ABS
'some food'

- (6) Massiyta Jayna
several book.SG.ABS
'several books'

Nouns modified by genitives:

- (7) San vesh-in tsa
my brother-GEN house.SG.ABS
'my brother's house'

- (8) Madin-in jaynesh
Madina-GEN books.PL.ABS
'Madina's books'

These examples illustrate modification of nouns by different phrases, and all of them appear in a prenominal position similar to what we observe with the position of relative clauses.

5.2 Verbs which form relative clauses

Verbs in relative clauses can be of different types including participles; a special form of a verb 'be' (the use of which is restricted to relative clauses, and which co-occurs with both previous types of verb); and also nominalizations. All these verb forms share the feature non-finiteness; there are no finite relative clauses in Chechen. This section discusses all types of non-finite verbs that occur in relative clauses.

The verbs which form relative clauses are limited in terms of tense-aspect marking, however they do show verbal agreement morphology, which is a tendency for any verb in Chechen regardless of whether it is finite or non-finite. Some verb forms used in Chechen relative clauses are homophonous with verb forms found in simple declarative clauses but the former are clearly non-finite, and therefore can never form complete independent sentences on their own. The following examples are illustrative:

- (9) As massiytaza d-eshna h1ara jayna.

I.ERG few.times CL3-read this book.SG.ABS

‘I read this book several times.’

(10) [As massiytaza d-esh-na] jayna d-u h1ara.

I.ERG few.times CL3-read-NON-FIN book.SG.ABS CL3-is this

‘This is the book which I read several times.’

(11) *As massiytaza d-eshna jayna

I.ERG few.times CL3-read.NON-FIN book.SG.ABS

(‘The book which I read several times.’)

The first example shows a typical declarative sentence which contains a finite verb *deshna* ‘read’ in the past tense. The example (10) shows a relative clause (marked off by square brackets) which is formed from the declarative sentence by relativizing the position of a direct object *h1ara jayna* ‘this book’. The relative clause contains the same verb form *deshna* ‘read’ as the declarative sentence. However, unlike its counterpart the relative clause verb is non-finite, which is further shown in the example (11), which shows an NP and not a complete sentence, therefore cannot stand alone.¹² In all three examples the verbs show concord with the noun *jayna* ‘book’, a direct object of the verb *deshna* ‘read’ in (9) and a head noun which is modified by a relative clause in both (10) and (11). The noun *jayna* ‘book’ is a class 3 noun so the verbs are marked with the *d-* prefix.

Similar is the situation with relative clauses which are formed with the use of a special form of an auxiliary ‘be’; they also cannot stand as independent sentences:

(12) [As massiytaza d-esh-na d-olu] jayna d-u h1ara.

I.ERG few.times CL3-read-NON-FIN CL3-be.NON-FIN book.SG.ABS CL3-is this

‘This is the book which I read several times.’

(13) *As massiytaza d-esh-na d-olu jayna

¹² This form of a verb is homophonous with the finite verb in Present Perfect:

1) As massiytaza d-eshna jayna.

I.ERG few.times CL3-read.PRES.PERF book.SG.ABS

(‘The book which I read several times.’)

I.ERG few.times CL3-read-NON-FIN CL3-be.NON-FIN book.SG.ABS

(‘The book which I read several times.’)

In (12) the relative clause is formed with the main verb *deshna* ‘read’ as well as the form of auxiliary ‘be’ *dolu*, both of which are non-finite, however, as seen in earlier examples, both verbs show agreement with the gender class of their head noun *jayna* ‘book’. The example (13) shows that the relative clause containing this form of an auxiliary ‘be’ can’t occur as a stand-alone sentence.

The form of an auxiliary ‘be’ used in relative clauses is not found in any other type of clause, so its use is restricted to relative clauses only. It is formed with an auxiliary *d-u* (*v-*, *y-*, *b-*) ‘be’ which occurs in relative clauses in the form *d-olu* (*v-*, *y-*, *b-*), for example *doshush yolu yol* ‘the girl who is studying’ or *visthulush volu vokkha stag* ‘the old man who is giving the talk’.

Another verb form which is found in one of the types of relative clause, more specifically, headless relative clauses, is nominalization, as shown in (14) and (15):

(14) [Tsavaha lu-ush-v-e-rg], t1sa-v-ahana.

home.come.INF want-PRTC-CL1-be-NMLZ.ABS home-CL1-went

‘Who wanted to go home, came.’

(15) [Tsavaha lu-ush-v-olu-cho], t1sa-v-aha bahana dina.

Home.come.INF want-PRTC-CL1-be-NMLZ.ERG home-CL1-go reason CL3-made

‘Who wanted to go home made an effort for it.’

These two examples illustrate the use of nominalization in the formation of relative clauses. In (14), the nominalization *luushverg* ‘the one who wants’ is formed with the participial verb form *luush* ‘want’, the auxiliary *vu* ‘is’ and a nominalizer suffix *-rg*. The nominalization is marked with absolutive case which is assigned by the main verb *t1savahana* ‘went home’. It bears a noun class marker *-v* which is typically used in the language when suing elements such as ‘one, someone’. In (15), we are dealing with the same type of nominalization, however, it is in a

different case, i.e. ergative, which is marked with the suffix *-cho*. The use of nominalizations in relative clauses is discussed in more detail in the section on headless relative clauses.

Another type of verb which is found in one of the types of relative clause, known as a non-embedded relative clause, is one of the two forms of an auxiliary ‘be’, which in other cases are interrogative and negative respectively, but in non-embedded relatives can be used interchangeably. Consider the following examples:

- (16) [I as ets-na d-olu jayna d-u-y], iza chog1a paide d-u.
that I.ERG buy-NON-FIN CL3-be book.SG.ABS CL3-be-QM it.ABS very useful CL3-is
‘The book which I bought is very useful.’
- (17) [I as ets-na d-olu jayna d-ats], iza chog1a paide d-u.
that I.ERG buy-NON-FIN CL3-be book.SG.ABS CL3-be.NEG it.ABS very useful CL3-is
‘The book which I bought is very useful.’

Here we observe the use of auxiliary ‘be’ following the head noun; it can be either the interrogative form *d-uy* or negative form *d-ats*, as shown in (16) and (17) respectively.

We will see more examples of all types of verbs which form relative clauses in sections to come.

5.3 *Restrictive relative clauses*

Languages in general tend to prefer postnominal relative clauses over prenominal relative clauses (Keenan 1985: 144). This is especially true for SVO languages where postnominal relative clauses is practically the only form that is observed. This is not the case in SOV languages though, as these tend to have the relative clauses preposed to the domain noun. However, as Keenan (1985: 144) points out, verb-final languages do also show the use of postnominal relative clauses with some languages even having this type as a dominant type, as for instance in Yaqui. In many aspects Chechen relative clauses show striking similarities to Japanese relative clauses (indeed, these two languages show other structural similarities), so I

This is also true of sentences with more than one relative clause. Consider the following example from Japanese translated into Chechen:

- (24) [[Neko ga oikaketa] nezumi ga tabeta] wa kusatte ita. Japanese
cat chased rat ate cheese rotten was
'The cheese the rat the cat chased ate was rotten.'

Kuno (1974: 120)

- (25) [[Tsitsig t1a'haidina b-olu] dahka-s yi1na y-olu] nehch yahkayella yara. Chechen
cat.ABS chased CL5-be rat-ABS eat CL2-be cheese rotten was
'The cheese the rat the cat chased was rotten.'

First, we can observe that the languages show the same word order in both main as well as relative clauses. In the example from Japanese, we observe that there are two relative clauses with the innermost clause *nezumi ga tabeta* 'rat ate' being embedded into the second relative clause *neko ga oikaketa* 'cat chased', which is in turn embedded into the main clause *wa kusatte ita* 'cheese was rotten'. As the example shows, both relative clauses are in prenominal position, and as Kuno (1974: 120) points out, this is the typical position for relative clause in Japanese. In the same example from Chechen, the relative clause *dahkas yi1na yolu* 'rat ate' is also embedded within the larger relative clause *tsitsig t1a'haidina bolu* 'cat chased', which is subordinate to the matrix clause *nehch yahkayella yara* 'cheese was rotten'. In exactly the same way as in Japanese, relative clauses in Chechen appear in a position preceding the head noun. In relation to verb forms used in two languages, we can observe that these show some differences. In the Japanese example, both verbs in relative clauses appear in the past tense, which is however never possible in Chechen relative clauses. As we observed from some earlier examples, the lexical verbs in the relative clauses *t1a'haidina* 'chase' and *yi1na* 'eat' appear in a form homophonous with the past tense verbs *t1a'haidina* 'chased' and *yi1na* 'ate', but otherwise different as these are non-finite showing no tense-aspect-mood inflections. The

auxiliary verbs *bolu* ‘be’ and *yolu* ‘be’ are also non-finite, but appear with the inflections of the gender class (*b-* and *y-*) of the respective head noun *dahkas* ‘rat’ and *nehch* ‘cheese’, as it is typically observed in Chechen.

5.3.1 *Emphatic focus in relative clauses*

However, the relative clauses may be appearing in a position following the main clause (but crucially not the head noun), more specifically in a central position in relation to the main clause. This structure is possible in case if there is an emphatic focus. The following examples illustrate the possible variations:

- (26) Chog1a payde d-ara [selhana ___ hilla y-olu] dars.
 very useful CL3-was yesterday take.place.NON-FIN CL2-be lesson.ABS
 ‘The lesson, that we attended yesterday, was very useful.’
- (27) Chog1a payde [selhana ___ hilla d-olu] dars d-ara.
 very useful yesterday take.place.NON-FIN CL2-be lesson.ABS CL3-was
 ‘The lesson, that we attended yesterday, was very useful.’
- (28) Chog1a payde-m [selhana ___ hilla d-olu] majlis d-ara.
 very useful yesterday take.place.NON-FIN CL3-be lesson.ABS CL3-was
 ‘The lesson, that we attended yesterday, was very useful.’
- (29) Chog1a payde [selhana ___ hilla d-olu] dars d-ara h’una.
 very useful yesterday take.place.NON-FIN CL3-be lesson.ABS CL3-was Ø
 ‘The lesson, that we attended yesterday, was very useful.’
- (30) Dayina tso [as shega ___ d-ella d-olu] jayna.
 lost he.ERG I.ERG he.REFL.LOC CL3-give.NON-FIN CL3-be book.SG.ABS
 ‘He lost the book, which I gave to him.’
- (31) Tso [as shega ___ d-ella d-olu] jayna dayina.
 he.ABS I.ERG he.REFL.DAT CL3-give.NON-FIN CL3-be book.SG.ABS lost
 ‘He lost the book, which I gave to him.’
- (32) Tso-m [as shega ___ d-ella d-olu] jayna dayina.
 he.ERG I.ERG he.REFL.DAT CL3-give.NON-FIN CL3-be book.SG.ABS lost
 ‘He lost the book, which I gave to him.’

- (33) Tso [as shega ___ d-ella d-olu] jayna
 he.ERG I.ERG he.REFL.DAT CL3-give.NON-FIN CL3-be.NON-FIN book.SG.ABS
 dayina h'una.
 lost Ø
 'He lost the book, which I gave to him.'

These are different possible variations of relative clauses which are possible if certain constituents are emphasized. The only feature that is shared across the examples is that the head noun never follows the relative clause. As examples show, the main clause verb can either be placed before or after the relative clause as illustrated in (26) and (27) respectively. A significant role here is played by intonation which determines that the emphasis is placed on a particular piece of information, which is significant to a speaker at the time of a discourse. Generally, with this type of focus the intonation is rising. Another way of indicating the emphatic focus is by using the bound morpheme *-m* which is attached in a form of a suffix to a particular phrase which is being emphasized. So, in (28) the focus is on the adjective *payde* 'useful', so the morpheme appears on this word, while in (32) the emphasised element is a subject *tso* 'he' so the morpheme *-m* is attached to it. Another element, which has a similar function to the morpheme *-m*, is the free morpheme *h'una*. We came across this element in some of the previous examples. It is homophonous with the 2nd singular personal pronoun *h'o* 'you' marked with dative, however when used in relative clauses or sometimes in simple declarative clauses, it doesn't really carry any particular meaning. Its only function, as appears from the examples seen so far, is placing an emphatic focus on a particular element in a clause. Its typical position is following the predicate. It is worth noting that while both elements are used for emphasis, the intonation is still crucial.

As these examples show, although some variation is possible given certain discourse-pragmatic conditions, the preferred and standard position where the relative clause is found is a sentence-initial position.

In relation to clause-internal word order both in relative and main clause it is fairly fixed, and the SOV word order is maintained in a sentence where the relative clause is in its canonical position. In sentences where the variation is possible due to the emphatic focus, again, the word order in a relative clause is fixed, however, as the examples showed, the main clauses show a relatively flexible word order.

5.3.2 Positions which can be relativized

Chechen allows only for some of the positions in a clause to be relativized. If we look at the NP Accessibility Hierarchy these are the following four positions: subject, object, indirect object and object of a postposition.

Subject>Direct Object>Indirect Object>Object of adposition>Possessor>Object of comparison

Consider the following examples of relative clauses with different positions being relativized:

Relative clauses with subject relativized:

- (34) [__ shen naklost-e jayna d-ella y-olu]
he.LOC friend-LOC book.SG.ABS CL3-give.NON-FIN CL1-be.NON-FIN
iza dohkoelira.

she.ABS regretted

‘She regretted after giving a book to her friend.’

(lit. ‘She who gave her friend a book regretted about it.’)

- (35) [Tahana bahka b-ezash b-olu] h’eshiy h1intsa a
today come.NON-FIN CL6-should CL6-be guests.ABS yet CONJ
sh’akhacha-za b-u.

arrive.not CL6-are

‘The guests who are supposed to come today are yet to arrive.’

- (36) [San t1ormag ba’hna volu] stag ledalo shaletsira.
my bag.SG.ABS stole CL1-be man police.ERG caught

‘The man who stole my bag was caught by the police.’

In all these examples the subject position in the relative clause is encoded by a gapping strategy. The relative clauses in all three examples appear in a position preceding the head noun they modify, *iza* ‘she’, *h’eshiy* ‘guests’ and *stag* ‘person’ respectively. As we saw in earlier examples the auxiliary verbs show agreement with the head nouns in class, hence the prefixing agreement with each head noun: in (34) *iza* ‘she’ is class 2 noun, so the auxiliary *yolu* ‘be’ is marked with *v-*, in (35) *h’eshiy* is class 1, hence the verb is marked with either *v-* or *b-* (in this example the auxiliary *b-olu* ‘be’ is marked with the suffix *b-*), and in (36) the head noun is a class 1 noun so the auxiliary *v-olu* ‘be’ is inflected with the *v-* prefix.

Relative clause with direct objects relativized:

- (37) [Tso shen nak1ost-e ___ d-ella d-olu] jayna dayna.
I.ERG he.GEN friend.LOC CL3-give.NON-FIN CL3-be.NON-FIN book.SG.ABS lost
‘The book that he gave to his friend was lost.’
- (38) [As shega ___ d-ella d-olu] ahcha sh’adalaza v-u iza.
I.ERG he.LOC CL3-give CL3-be money.ABS give.not CL1-is he.ABS
‘He hasn’t returned the money that I lent to him’
- (39) [Tso ___ chog1a lerrina lelosh d-olu] tsitsig d-ayna.
she.ERG very careful look.after CL3-be cat.SG.ABS CL3-lost
‘She lost her cat that she was caring for a lot.’
(‘The cat that she cared for a lot went missing.’)

With direct objects relativized we can observe a similar pattern with the clauses where subjects are being relativized, both in terms of clause-internal structure and the strategy used for marking the relativized position, namely the gap. The following are examples of relative clauses with indirect object relativized:

- (40) [Tso ___ jayna della v-olu] tsu’nan nak1ost
he.ERG book.SG.ABS give CL1-be he.GEN friend.SG.ERG
‘His friend to whom he gave his book’
- (41) [As shega uhlurg ahcha d-ella v-olu] iza v-edda.
I.ERG he.LOC debt money.ABS CL3-give CL1-be he.ABS CL1-ran.away

‘The one (he) to whom I lent money ran away.’

- (42) [Suna h1ara jayna d-ella v-olu] stag khin tsk1a
I.DAT this book.SG.ABS CL3-gave CL1-be person.ABS again never
tsa gira suna.
not saw I.DAT

‘I have never seen again the person who gave me this book.’

Relative clauses with objects of postpositions relativized:

- (43) [So __ lela-sh v-olu] sportzal d1a-kho’vlina tsara.
I.ABS go-PRTC CL1-be gym.SG.ABS PRVB-closed they.ERG
‘They closed the gym which I used to go to.’

- (44) [So __ chuvo’d-ush d-olu] ts1a chog1a parglat d-u.
I.ABS move.in-PRTC CL3-be house.SG.ABS very spacious CL3-is
‘The house I am moving in is very spacious.’

Relative clauses with possessors relativized:

- (45) [As tsu’n-an tenik shaya’kkhina d-olu] bera o’glaz dahar suna.
I.ERG he.GEN doll.SG.ABS took.away CL3-be child.ABS offend went I.DAT
‘The child whose toy I took away was upset with me.’

- (46) [Tsu’n-an ja’las suna kato’hna v-olu] stag so lo’ra t1e y-igira.
he.GEN dog.ERG I.DAT bit CL1-be person.ABS I.ABS doctor.LOC to CL2-took
‘The man whose dog bit me took me to the hospital.’

- (47) [As shen tenik shaya’kkhina d-olu] bera o’glaz dahar suna.
I.ERG he.GEN.REFL toy.SG.ABS took.away CL3-be child.ABS offend went I.DAT
‘The child whose toy I took away was offended.’

- (48) [Shen ja’las suna kato’hna v-olu] stag so lo’ra t1e y-igira.
he.GEN.REFL dog.ERG I.DAT bit CL1-be person.ABS I.ABS doctor.LOC to CL2-took
‘The man whose dog bit me took me to the hospital.’

As we have seen in earlier examples, the relativized position is generally marked by the gapping strategy, which is one of two strategies used in the language. In Chechen, we rarely find the second strategy, i.e. the resumptive pronoun strategy, but as example (41) shows this is sometimes used where the indirect object is being relativized. However, this strategy is the only strategy used for relativizing possessors, as shown in (45) and (46). When the gapping

strategy is used there is no marking for distinguishing between the grammatical positions; the only way to know which position is being relativized is by identifying the position of a gap in a relative clause.

In his overview of relativized positions cross-linguistically, Keenan (1985: 159) raises the question whether the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs tend to be similarly relativizable or not. As he points out, languages tend to relativize intransitive verb subjects more frequently than transitive verb subjects; more than that, some languages even have restrictions on relativizing transitive verb subjects and have some ways to detransitivize verbs, therefore changing transitive verbs into intransitives whose subjects now may be relativized (Keenan 1985: 159). In terms of this distinction, Chechen belongs to the type of languages which do allow both transitive and intransitive subjects to be relativized. Consider the following examples of intransitive simple clauses and relative clauses where subjects are relativized.

(49) K1ant h'alhe d1a-vijira.

boy.SG.ABS early PRVB-went.to.bed

'The boy went to bed early.'

(50)[__ Halhe d1a-vijina v-olu] k1ant

early PRVB-went.to.bed CL1-be.NON-FIN boy.SG.ABS

'the boy who went to bed early'

(51) Yo1 chog1a k1adyella.

girl.SG.ABS very tired

'The girl is very tired.'

(52)[__ Chog1a k1adyella y-olu] yo1

very tired CL2-be.NON-FIN girl.SG.ABS

'The girl who is so much tired'

These clauses are formed with intransitive verbs *d1avijira* 'went to bed' and *k1adyella* 'tired' and both subjects of these verbs can be relativized as the second pair of each example shows.

However, there are some types of subjects which tend to be relativized less common in Chechen, more specifically personal pronouns as opposed to proper names or common nouns – are not often relativized. The following examples are illustrative:

- (53) [So'tsa dosh-ush y-olu] yo1 y-u h1ara.
I.ABS study-PRTC CL2-be.NON-FIN girl.SG.ABS CL2-is this.SG.ABS
'This is the girl who is studying with me.'
- (54) [So'tsa dosh-ush y-olu] Madina y-u h1ara.
I.ABS study-PRTC CL2-be.NON-FIN Madina CL2-is this.SG.ABS
'This is Madina who is studying with me.'
- (55) #[So'tsa dosh-ush y-olu] iza y-u h1ara.
I.ABS study-PRTC CL2-be.NON-FIN she.ABS CL2-is this.SG.ABS
'That is her who is studying with me.'
- (56) [Aysa ets-na y-olu] mashen goytu h'una as.
I.ERG bought-NON-FIN CL2-be.NON-FIN car.SG.ABS show you.DAT I.ERG
'I will show you the car which I bought.'
- (57) [Aysa ets-na y-olu] Ford goytu huna as.
I.ERG bought-NON-FIN CL2-be Ford.ABS show you.DAT I.ERG
'I will show you Ford which I bought.'
- (58) #[Aysa etsna y-olu] iza goytu huna as.
I bought CL2-be it.ABS show you.DAT I.ERG
'I will show you it which I bought.'

The examples in (53) and (56) illustrate the most common type of a head noun which tends to be relativized in Chechen, more specifically common nouns like, *yo1* 'girl' and *mashen* 'car'. The second pair of examples (54) and (57), where the head nouns are proper names, shows the similar pattern. Although the third pair of examples with the pronouns as head nouns are grammatically well-formed sentences of Chechen, they would almost never be used.

5.4 Restrictive vs. non-restrictive relative clauses in Chechen

There is no formal difference between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses in Chechen. These two types have similar syntactic structure and can't be told apart unless there is a specific context from which it is clear whether the particular clause has a restrictive or non-restrictive reading. As it was noted earlier, relative clauses in Chechen utilize neither relative pronouns nor relativizers. However, there is one specific element which differentiates between these types of clause; it can only appear in clauses which have restrictive reading. The following examples are illustrative:

- (59) H1intsa deshna v-a'lla v-olu san dottag1 bolha h1ottina.
now study CL1-finish CL1-be my friend.ABS work started
'My friend, who just graduated from a university, started working.'
- (60) H1intsa deshna v-a'lla v-olu san dottag1 bolha h1ottina.
now study CL1-finish CL1-be my friend.ABS work started
'My friend who just graduated from a university started working.'
- (61) *H1intsa deshna v-a'lla v-olu san tshahvolu dottag1 bolha h1ottina.
now study CL1-finish CL1-be my one.of friend.ABS work start
'My friend, who just graduated from a university, started working.'
- (62) H1intsa deshna v-a'lla v-olu san tshahvolu dottag1 bolha h1ottina.
now study CL1-finish CL1-be my one.of friend.ABS work started
'My friend who just graduated from a university started working.'
- (63) H1okha lazaba'lla b-olu san ko'rto chog1a hiyzavo so.
this ache CL6-be my head.ERG very disturb me.ABS
'This head, which is aching, is disturbing me a lot.'
- (64) *H1okha lazaba'lla bolu san ko'rto chog1a hiyzavo so.
this ache CL6-be my head.ERG very disturb me.ABS
'This head which is aching is disturbing me a lot.'
- (65) *H1okha lazaba'lla bolu san tshahbolu ko'rto chog1a hiyzavo so.
this ache CL6-be my one.of head.ERG very disturb me.ABS
'This head which is aching is disturbing me a lot.'

This set of examples illustrates two sentences, one of which can have both restrictive and non-restrictive readings, as shown in (59) and (60), and the next sentence having only one of the

readings, namely non-restrictive as shown in (63) and (64). As it is clear from the examples, we do not observe any structural differences between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, as shown in (59) and (60), so one of the clauses can be interpreted as having a non-restrictive reading, (59) in this case (meaning, there is one friend and he is not identified from a number of other friends) and the other one (60) as having a restrictive reading (meaning, there is a number of friends and this particular one is identified from the rest by having recently graduated from the university and starting a job). (61) and (62) illustrate the use of the *tshahvolu* ‘one of’ element, which cannot be used in a relative clause with a non-restrictive reading, as shown in (61), but can only be used in a clause with the restrictive meaning, as (62) shows. So, in a sentence where one is talking about a friend not having him identified from the set of other friends it is illogical to use phrases, as ‘one of’ as it is already clear that there is one particular friend known from the context, so the use of this element yields the sentence ungrammatical, as (61) shows. This is, however, not the case with the sentence in (62), as here the reading is that there is a number of friends and one of them is identified, so the use of *tshahvolu* ‘one of’ is plausible, hence the sentence is grammatical.

The sentence in (63) has only one possible reading, i.e. non-restrictive, and this is self-explanatory as a person can have only one head so a restrictive reading is impossible, as (64) shows. So here again the *tshahvolu* element cannot be used as it cannot occur in non-restrictive relative clauses, as (65) illustrates.

5.5 Non-embedded relative clauses

Another type of relative clause that is found in Chechen in non-embedded relative clause. This type of a clause has quite distinctive features which differentiates it from the typical relative clause type which we have seen so far. The following examples are illustrative:

(66) [Selhana ___ hilla y-olu] majlis
yesterday take.place.NON-FIN CL3-be.NON-FIN lecture.ABS

chog1a payde y-ara.

very useful CL2-was

‘The lecture, that we attended yesterday, was very useful.’

- (67) I majlis y-uy selhana hilla
 that lecture.ABS CL2-be.NON-FIN yesterday take.place.NON-FIN
 y-olu, iza chog1a paide y-ara.
 CL2-be.NON-FIN it.ABS very useful CL2-was
 ‘The lecture, that we attended yesterday, was useful.’
 (lit. ‘The lecture that we attended yesterday, it was very useful’)

- (68) I majlis y-ats selhana hilla
 that lecture.ABS CL2-be.NEG.NON-FIN yesterday take.place.NON-FIN
 y-olu, iza chog1a paideh y-ara.
 CL2-be.NON-FIN it.ABS very useful CL2-was
 ‘The lecture, that we attended yesterday, was very useful.’
 (lit. ‘That particular lecture, that we attended yesterday, it was very useful.’)

The first example is one that we have already seen earlier which illustrates the embedded relative clause where the relativized position is marked with a gap. The next two examples (67) and (68) show non-embedded relative clauses. Now, these two clauses also have a slight difference between them, which we will look at shortly, however first let us have a look at how embedded relative clauses differ from non-embedded relative clauses. First, they have different sentence structure; both relative and main clause in non-embedded clauses display differences. While in a typical relative clause there is a gap for a domain noun, embedded relative clauses contain a relative marker *yuy* ‘be’ and *yats* ‘be.not’ in their respective clauses. This marker always appears immediately following the head noun, in these examples *majlis* ‘lecture’. This brings us to the next different feature, namely the position of a relative clause in relation to the head noun.¹³ As we saw in earlier examples, the relative clause always precedes its head noun,

¹³ It should be noted that the word order that is typical in embedded relative clauses is also permissible in non-embedded relative clauses. However, this order pattern is rarely used. Consider the following example:

I selhana hilla y-olu majlis
 that.ABS yesterday take.place.NON-FIN CL2-be.NON-FIN lesson
y-uy/ **y-ats,** iza chog1a paideh y-ara.
 CL2-be.NON-FIN/ CL2-be.NON-FIN.NEG it.ABS very useful CL2-was
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which is not the case for the non-embedded relative clauses. With regards to the main clause, it contains a resumptive pronoun *iza* ‘it’ which refers back to the head noun *majlis* ‘lecture’, so this clause can be a stand-alone clause, unlike the main clause in typical relative clauses. It is worth noting that the resumptive pronoun is not an optional element here, so its omission would yield the sentence ungrammatical, as shown in (69):

- (69) I dars d-u-y/ d-ats selhana hilla
 that lesson.SG.ABS CL3-be.NON-FIN CL3-be.not yesterday take.place.NON-FIN
 d-olu, *(iza) chog1a paydeh d-ara.
 CL3-be.NON-FIN it.ABS very useful CL3-was
 (‘The lesson, that we attended yesterday, was useful.’)
 (lit. ‘The lesson that we attended yesterday, it was very useful.’)

It is important to note that both embedded and non-embedded relative clauses contain the same non-finite verb forms. What is different though is that in case of embedded relative clauses the predicate can be formed with both main and auxiliary verbs as well as the main verb on its own, whereas in non-embedded relative clauses the omission of auxiliary verbs would yield sentences ungrammatical. Consider the following example:

- (70) I dars d-uy selhana hilla
 that lesson.SG.ABS CL3-be.NON-FIN yesterday take.place.NON-FIN
 *(d-olu), iza chog1a paydeh d-ara.
 CL3-be.NON-FIN it.ABS very useful CL3-was
 (‘The lesson, that we attended yesterday, was useful.’)

Now let us turn to the difference between relative markers *yuy* ‘be’ and *yats* ‘be.not’. As it is clear from the gloss, the main difference between these two elements is that they are different forms of the auxiliary verb *d-u* ‘be’ (where *v-*, *y-*, *b-* are used depending on the gender class of arguments the verb agrees with), one being an interrogative form (with the addition of the suffix

(‘The lesson, that we attended yesterday, was useful.’)
 (lit. ‘The lesson that we attended yesterday, it was very useful’)

-y), while the other is negative (formed with negative bound morpheme *-ts*). Although generally the use of interrogative and negative forms makes the clause/sentence interrogative and negative respectively, in this particular construction it adds the specificity and affirmation, especially in case of negative form which is used to make sure that the interlocutor knows exactly which state of affairs is being referred to when making a statement. So regardless of this difference, these elements can be used interchangeably with no great effect on the meaning.

5.6 Headless relative clauses

So far, we have seen relative clauses which contained a head noun which they modify, however there are some relative clauses which do not have a head noun, the so-called headless relative clauses. This section will focus on the description of this type of clause in Chechen.

Headless relative clauses in Chechen are exclusively formed with the use of nominalization. As Comrie and Thompson (2007) argue, one of the strategies that languages use for relativization, more specifically for two types of relative clause constructions, headless relative clauses and internally headed relative clauses, is nominalization.

Givón (1990:498) defines a clausal nominalization as a process “by which a prototypical verbal clause . . . is converted into a noun phrase” and “a verbal clause is nominalized most commonly when it occupies a prototypical nominal position (or function) . . . within another clause.”

In some languages, headless relative clauses may contain some sort of relativizer which serves to indicate the identity of an argument, or it may also serve as an anaphoric pronoun as ‘time-when’, ‘those-who’, etc. (Watters J.R. 2017: 128). Chechen does not show a relativizer of any sort, and in fact this type of relative clause exhibits a similar syntactic structure to typical relative clauses with a head noun, except for the changes to verb form, which makes them different. As its name suggests, a headless relative clause lacks a head noun which is only inferred. This type of clause is formed with a nominalized verb which occurs in clause final

in relation to main clause.¹⁴ As head nouns are not present in the case of headless relative clauses, there are no gaps present. In relation to the verb form, in all three examples (72), (74) and (76) verbs in relative clauses are formed with nominalized verbs with the suffixes: in (72) the nominalization is marked with the suffix *-rg* which gets attached to the nominalization inflected for absolutive case; in (74) we observe a different suffix *-cho*, which marks nominalization for ergative; and in (76) the nominalization is marked with another suffix *-rsh*, it is the same suffix which appears on nominalizations also marked with absolutive as in (72), but here the nominalization is in plural so the form is *-rsh*. These nominalized verbs are also marked with a noun class as the verbs in main clauses (where the verb is a class verb, i.e., agrees with its argument's gender class), so in (72) the verbs *vahana* 'went' and *luushverg* 'the one who wants' share the same class marker *-v*.¹⁵

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter was an overview of relative clauses in Chechen. As we observed, Chechen demonstrates few types of relative clause, including restrictive relative clauses, the most

¹⁴ Similar to restrictive relative clauses, headless relative clause can show some variation in word order. If a speaker wishes to place an emphatic focus on a particular constituent in a sentence, relative clause can appear in a position different to its prototypical position, i.e. the position preceding the main clause. However, this type of clause is more restrictive in that not all sentences sound equally acceptable given a different order. Consider the following examples from above:

- 1) #Ts1a veana [ts1av-aⁿ lu-ush-v-e-rg].
home came home.come-INF want-PRTC-CL1-be-NMLZ
'Who wants to come home already came.'
- 2) Kariyra tsunna [shena teshnabeck bina-r-sh].
found he.DAT he.DAT betrayal.ABS make-NMLZ-PL.ABS
'He found those who betrayed him.'

Although grammatical, the sentence in (1), at the very least, does not sound natural. The sentence in (2) however is perfectly acceptable under the condition that there is an emphasis on the main verb *kariyna* 'found'. So, this sentence could be heard in a context where an interlocutor is already aware of the situation and the speaker delivers to him the message about something that was known before.

¹⁵ In Chechen, in clause/sentence where there is no noun, class verbs are still inflected with the noun gender class. When the person/subject which is talked about is in singular, the corresponding verbs are marked with class 1 marker *-v*, while if the person/subject is in plural the verbs are marked with class 5 *-b*, for example:

- 1) Daimna bolh b-ina v-era v-ats.
Always work.ABS CL6-DO CL1-finish CL1-is.not
'You can't always work.'
- 2) Ts1a-b-ahka b-oahk u'sh.
home-CL5-come CL5-want they.ABS
'They want to come home.'

commonly occurring clause type, non-restrictive relative clauses, headless relative clauses and non-embedded relative clauses. As well, we talked about different processes involved in the formation of relative clauses. Although some of the processes were not specific to relative clauses, for example the typical SOV word order or participial and other non-finite verb forms, some are only found in relative clauses, such as a specific form of auxiliary 'be', which never occurs elsewhere.

Chapter 6. Nominalizations in Chechen

This chapter offers a description of nominalizations in Chechen, more specifically, their formation, syntactic behaviour, the different types that can be distinguished and their syntactic distribution. As it is well-known from literature, nominalization is not a straightforward category. It has an ambivalent nature, i.e. exhibiting both nominal and verbal features. There are several types of nominalizations in Chechen which are formed with the use of different nominalizing suffixes; each of these types shows some distinct features and functions. As we will see, the main types in Chechen are action nominals and agentive nominals. When it comes to the kinds of subordinate clause that they occur in, nominalizations in Chechen are found in two types of subordinate clause, i.e. complement and headless relative clauses. The organization of the chapter is as follows. I will start off (section 6.1) by offering a brief general discussion of nominalizations, including the definition of the notion as well as the strategies used for its formation, different types of nominalizations and how they behave syntactically across the languages. Then there will follow the description of nominalizations in Chechen (section 6.3). We will look at each type of nominalizations in turn, examining their distribution and syntactic behaviour in clauses where they occur. I also look at nominalized clauses in the

light of comparing them to the main clauses. This is done for the purposes of finding out their similarities and differences and how these are reflected in their syntactic function.

6.1 General description of nominalizations

Before we turn to the description of nominalizations, it might be useful to define the term. The term nominalization has been described as ‘turning something into a noun’ (Comrie and Thompson 2007:334). As Comrie and Thompson (2007) point out, nominalizations are derived from lexical verbs or adjectives and there are various derivational strategies that different languages exploit for this purpose. Overall, Comrie and Thompson (2007) group nominalizations into two major classes: class A (nominalizations referring to an activity or state) which includes state/action nouns and class B (referring to an argument) which includes a number of different types such as agentive nouns, instrumental nouns, manner nouns, locative nouns, objective nouns and reason nouns. Concerning the difference between these two groups, the authors say that it is dependent on the extent to which the verbal and adjectival properties of the base word are retained in these nominals; action nouns are considered to retain verbal and adjectival properties as opposed to the nouns in group B whose syntactic behaviour is similar to that of typical nouns (Comrie and Thompson 2007: 334).

Using the definition offered by Comrie (1976: 178), Koptjevskaya-Tamm (1993: 5) defines nominalizations as ‘nouns derived from verbs (verbal nouns) with the general meaning of an action or process’, capable of taking or declining prepositions or postpositions in the same way as non-derived nouns and showing ‘reasonable’ productivity’. According to Koptjevskaya-Tamm (1993: 6), to a certain respect, there is a particular position that action nominals occupy, i.e. the intermediate position between ordinary nouns and verbs. As an example, she gives

nominals such as shooting or discovery which combine discourse, semantic as well as morphological features of both typical nouns and verbs, and they are closer to one or the other category depending on a language (Koptjevskaya-Tamm 1993). The main hypothesis that the author makes is that ‘the intermediate nature of action nominals is reflected in their syntactic behaviour. More specifically, we may expect that the internal syntax of ANC’s across language will be more or less like that of finite clauses and/or that of NPs.’

Cross-linguistically, action nominal constructions are typically described as resembling either noun phrases or sentences, the difference being determined by ‘the degree to which the relations between an action nominal and its arguments are signalled by the same means also employed in finite clauses or in NPs.’ (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003: 725). Based on how the relations between action nominals and its arguments are signalled, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2003:725) distinguishes three possible major types of action nominal constructions, according to whether these relations are signalled 1. purely by sentential syntactic means, 2. purely by nominal syntactic means, or 3. by a mixture of both these strategies. i.e. sentential and syntactic means. She points out, potentially, there could be a further type of nominalization, where use is made of different means, which do not occur in NPs or finite clauses, but are specific to action nominal constructions. But as she notes, such a type is attested, which suggests the universal that cross-linguistically, there is no syntactic means of argument marking that is specific to action nominal constructions (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003:725).

The topic of nominalizations in Chechen has remained uninvestigated; to my knowledge there does not exist a single study addressing it. What is even more challenging in the description of nominalizations is that it is a very controversial issue cross-linguistically though there is a considerable number of studies conducted on different languages. In what follows, I aim to provide a descriptive account of nominalizations in Chechen, which can be used in further work taking a more theoretical or cross-linguistic comparative perspective. The

main focus in this study will be on the description of nominalizations formed from verbs. The difficulty in describing these constructions is mainly due to their complex ambivalent nature. Lefebvre and Muysken (1988) refer to work by Lees 1960, Chomsky 1970, Gee 1977, Horn 1975, Wasow and Roeper 1972, Koster and May 1981, Stowell 1981 and others. Since then, work on nominalizations has continued in a steady stream, see e.g. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2002, Alexiadou and Rathert 2010, Lefebvre and Muysken 2012 among others. This work aims to add to this literature by providing a description (hitherto missing) of how nominalization works in Chechen.

6.2 Nominal and verbal properties in Chechen

In order to understand the nature of nominalizations in Chechen, it is necessary to look at typical features that nouns and verbs have in this language. Doing so will enable us to see how the nominalizations behave at a clausal level, and how main clauses containing ordinary verbs differ (or do not differ) from the clauses formed through nominalization.

As a first pass, consider the following example:

- (1) *H1ara desharho* [ch1og1a lekhara khiam-(a)sh
this student.SG.ABS very high accomplishment.ABS-PL
b-esh] v-u.
CL5-make.PRTC CL1-is
'This student is achieving great results.'

The sentence in (1) is a simple clause; it contains two nouns *desharho* 'student' and *khiamash* 'accomplishment'. The noun *desharho* is marked with singular absolutive; this case is assigned by lexical verb *b-esh* 'making'. The noun belongs to noun class 1 which is marked on the auxiliary verb *vu* 'is' (shown as 'CL1, i.e. noun class 1). Note that the modifier *h1ara* 'this' does not participate in case, number or agreement marking. The lexical verb *besh* 'making'

agrees with the direct object *khiamash* ‘accomplishment’, which belongs to noun class 5 (hence the gloss ‘CL5’ for *bash*). As we saw in section 2.2.2, when the predicate is made up of a lexical verb and an auxiliary, the former agrees with the direct object as opposed while the latter agrees with the subject. In addition to being marked for agreement with the direct object and the subject, the verbal combination *bash vu* ‘is making’ in this example is inflected for tense and aspect (present continuous). The question then is which of these and other nominal and verbal properties are present in nominalizations and to what extent there are differences between different types of these constructions.

6.2.1 Nominal properties in Chechen

Nouns in Chechen have several categories including case, number and noun class. The latter indicates which class a particular noun belongs to. It is marked not on the noun itself but on the predicate (see example (1) above and section 1.3.6 in chapter 1 for more detail). We will be looking at the extent to which these categories are present in different types of nominals in the light of comparing them to non-derived nouns. To begin with, consider the nominals in the example:

- (2) Adam desharkho-sh-na tarih h’o’h-ush v-u.
Adam.ABS student-PL-DAT history.SG.ABS teach-PRTC CL1-is
‘Adam is teaching history to his students.’

In this example, the nominals *desharkhoshna* ‘students’ and *tarih* ‘history’ are both non-derived. From the nominal properties they show the following: *desharkhoshna* ‘students’ is marked with plural, dative case and it belongs to noun class 1; the noun *tarih* ‘history’ is marked with singular, absolutive case and belongs to class 2.

Let’s now examine the marking found in various types of nominalization. In (3) we can observe a gerund which is formed with the use of an infinitival form of a verb *heha* ‘to teach’, to which the participial suffix *-ush* is added. This is a typical gerund which functions in a similar way to

that in English. This is the only type of nominalization in Chechen which shows more resemblance to verbs. So, the gerund *ho'hush* 'teaching' is not marked with number or case and does not belong to a noun gender class, which indicates that it syntactically behaves more like a typical verb rather than a noun. This indicates that morphologically it looks more like a typical verb rather than a noun.'

- (3) Tsunna [h'o'h-ush] hazaheta.
he.DAT teaching-PRTC like
'He likes teaching.'

In (4) and (5) we can observe an action nominal *hehar*. It is formed from the verb *heha* 'to teach'; however, they demonstrate semantic inconsistencies. In the first example, *hehar* 'teaching' has retained the original meaning of the verb *heha* 'to teach'. In the second example, the nominal *hehar* shows no correlations with the verb it was derived from and translates as 'advice', which belongs to class 5, which is marked on the verb *desh vu* 'is making'. However, what these two nominals have in common is that they are both marked with case. The action nominal in (4) *heharh* 'teaching' gets its case assigned by the main verb *samukIdolush vu* 'is enjoying', while the direct object *desharhoshna* 'students' gets its case assigned by the action nominal *heharh* 'teaching'. The nominal *hehar* 'advice' in (5) is assigned the absolutive case by the verb *desh vu* 'is making'.

- (4) Iza [desharho-sh-na heha-r-h] samuk?adol-ush v-u.
he.ABS student-PL-DAT teaching-NMLZ-ALL enjoy-PTRC CL1-is
'He really enjoys teaching his students.'
- (5) Iza desharkho-sh-na heha-r d-e-sh v-u.
he.ABS student-PL-DAT advice-NMLZ.ABS CL5-make.PRTC CL1-is
'He is giving his students some advice.'

In (6) we can observe a different type of action nominal, *heham* 'lecture'. Although being derived from the verb *heha* 'to teach', it shows no verbal features, similar to the nominal *hehar*

‘advice’ in (5) and translates as ‘lecture’. From the nominal categories, it is inflected with number (singular) and absolutive case which is assigned by the verb *bira* ‘made’. Similar to any ordinary noun, the nominal *heham* ‘lecture’ has a category of a noun class belonging to class 6, which is marked on the verb *bira* ‘made’.

- (6) Tso shen desharkho-sh-na heha-m b-ira.
 he.ABS he.GEN student-PL-DAT lecture-NMLZ.SG.ABS CL6-made
 ‘He read a lecture to his students.’

The last example in (7) shows the agentive nominal, a type of nominalization which is only found in non-headed relative clauses. From the nominal categories, agentive nominals are inflected with morphological case. Here the nominal *hehnarg* ‘what was taught’ is marked with absolutive case, as shown in (7):

- (7) Hekharkho-cho shayn-a hehna-rg ditsd-ella d-ats desharkho-sh-na.
 teacher-ERG them-DAT teach-NMLZ.ABS forget-NON-FIN CL3-not student-PL-DAT
 ‘Students haven’t forgotten what their teacher taught them.’

6.2.2 Verbal properties in Chechen

While nouns and verbs have distinct properties which clearly show how these word classes differ from each other, it is well-known that nominalizations combine both nominal and verbal features; the question is to what extent the properties of verbs and nouns are retained in these constructions (Comrie and Thompson 1985:18). As Comrie and Thompson (1985: 18) also note, ‘...since these [verbal] categories are not typical of noun phrases in general, retention of such categories in action nominals is evidence of the (partial) verbal nature of such action nominals’. It seems plausible to suggest that any of the verbal categories can be retained in action nominals; however, this is not the case (Comrie and Thompson 1985). After investigating a considerable number of languages, Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2003) concludes that

the verbal category of mood is not present in action nominals in any language. However, all other verbal categories seem to be attested in nominalizations cross-linguistically.

The typical verbal properties in Chechen are as follows: verbs are marked with a gender class of their arguments (both transitive and intransitive verbs are marked with the absolutive arguments, whether it is a subject or direct object); they assign case to their arguments; they are inflected with tense, aspect and mood; other verbal properties include transitivity and negation. In the following subsections, we will consider the use of these various verbal properties in nominalized structures.

6.2.2.1 Tense in nominalizations

The generalization that can be made about nominalizations in Chechen is that they are not tensed, as can be seen by comparing the ordinary verbs in (8)-(10) show the verb *dɪavala* ‘to quit’ in different tenses and the nominalization formed from this verb in (11).

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| (8) | H'eharho
teacher.SG.ABS | bolha-ra
job-LOC | dʔa-va'lla.
PRVB-CL1.PAST | |
| | ‘A teacher quitted his job.’ | | | |
| (9) | H'eharho
teacher.SG.ABS | bolha-ra
job-LOC | dʔa-volush
PRVB-CL1.quit.PRTC | v-u.
CL1-is |
| | ‘A teacher is quitting his job.’ | | | |
| (10) | H'eharho
teacher.SG.ABS | bolha-ra
job-LOC | dʔa-ver
PRVB-CL1.quit.NON-FIN | v-u.
CL1-is |
| | ‘A teacher will quit his job.’ | | | |
| (11) | H'eharho
teacher.SG.ABS | bolha-ra
job-LOC | dʔa-valar.
PRVB-quit.NMLZ | |
| | ‘A teacher’s quitting of his job.’ | | | |

In (8)-(10), we can observe the tense distinction among the verbs, i.e. *dʔava'lla* ‘quitted’ is marked for past tense, *dʔavolush vu* ‘is quitting’ for present and *dʔaver vu* ‘will quit’ for future

tense. However, the nominal derived from the verb *dʔavala* ‘to quit’ can be of only one form, *dʔavalar* ‘quitting’, as shown in (11).

However, there is one exception, i.e. -rg nominals. These do have tense distinctions, as can be seen in (12)-(14):

(12) I bolha-ra dʔa-va'lla-rg than h'eharho v-u.
 this job-LOC PRVB-CL1.quitted-NMLZ we.GEN teacher.SG.ABS CL1-is
 ‘The one who quitted his job is our teacher.’

(13) I bolha-ra dʔa-volushve-rg than heharho v-u.
 this job-LOC PRVB-CL1.quit.PRTC.CL1.is-NMLZ we.GEN teacher.SG.ABS CL1-is
 ‘The one who is quitting his job is our teacher.’

(14) I bolha-ra dʔa-verve-rg than heharho v-u.
 this job-LOC PRVB-CL1.quit.FUT-CL1.is-NMLZ we.GEN teacher.SG.ABS CL1-is
 ‘The one who will quit his job is our teacher.’

These examples are provided in such a way as to correspond to the non-nominalized verb forms given above, the nominal *dʔava'llarg* ‘the one who quitted’ in (12) is formed from the verb in past, *dʔava'lla* ‘quitted’ seen in (8); the nominal *dʔavolushverg* ‘the one who is quitting’ in (13) is formed from the verb marked with present tense, *dʔavolush vu* ‘is quitting’ in seen in (9); and *dʔaveraverg* ‘the one who will quit’ in (14) is formed from the verb in the future, *dʔaver vu* ‘will quit’ as shown in (10).

6.2.2.2 Aspect in nominals

While nominalizations in Chechen (even those which show predominantly verbal features), do not show tense, some of the gerund like nominals can be distinguished by aspect. Consider the following four examples:

(15) Tsunan so'ga haja-r chlog1a tamashiyna dara. (perfective action)
 he.GEN I.LOC looking-NMLZ very strange was

- ‘His looking at me was very weird.’
- (16) Tsunan so’ga heaja-r chlogla tamashiyna dara. (continuous action)
he.GEN I.LOC looking-NMLZ very strange was
‘His staring at me was very weird.’
- (17) San sih-sihha ara-v-ala-r tsa deza tsunna. (perfective action)
I often out-CL1-go-NMLZ not like she.DAT
‘She doesn’t like me going out frequently.’
- (18) San sih-sihha ara-v-eala-r tsa deza tsunna. (continuous action)
I often out-CL1-go-NMLZ not like she
‘She doesn’t like me going out frequently.’

In the first pair of examples, the two sentences formed with nominalizations *hajar* ‘looking’ and *heajar* ‘, looking’ can be distinguished by expressing perfective and continuous actions respectively. The nominalizations are marked in the same way, only differing in the vowel length in the initial syllable, i.e. short vs. long vowel. As far as semantics concerned, having the same meaning, the nominalizations show a slight difference, *hajar* meaning ‘a quick glance’ and *heajar* meaning ‘staring’. Similarly, in the second pair of examples, the nominalizations *aravalar* ‘going out’ is used for expressing a one-time action as opposed to its counterpart *aravealar* ‘going out’ in the following example which shows a continuous or a repetitive action. As with the previous pair of examples, the difference between this pair of nominalizations has to do with short and long vowels. There is only a small number of verbs in Chechen that allow for formation of nominalizations which can be distinguished by aspect. It is not entirely clear what is the relevant shared property of these verbs. It is possible that the facts are the result of historical processes that may be hard to recover.

As the translations given make clear, the verb forms in (15)-(18) show verbal properties. These nominals, similar to other nominals of this type, show verbal properties. However, some (but not all) of these nominalizations can be pluralized, as the following examples show.

- (19) *San ara-v-ala-r-sh tsa deza tsarna. (perfective action)

I.GEN out-CL1-go-NMLZ-PL not like they.DAT

‘They don’t like me going out.’

- (20) San ara-v-eala-r-sh tsa deza tsarna. (continuous action)

I.GEN out-CL1-go-NMLZ-PL not like they.DAT

‘They don’t like me going out.’

As shown in (19), the nominalization formed from the verb expressing perfective action cannot be pluralized as opposed to the nominalization in (20) formed from the verb which expresses continuous action can occur in a plural form. It is not entirely clear why this is the case, but conceivably the nominalization in (20) is undergoing a process of grammaticalization and acquiring some further nominal features.

6.2.2.3 Valency and transitivity in nominalizations

In Chechen action nominals, the valency and transitivity are retained both syntactically and morphologically. Agentive nominals show partial retention as will become clear from the examples. First consider some examples of action nominals:

- (21a) As kehat datʔiynera.

I.ERG letter.SG.ABS tore

‘I tore the letter.’

- (21b) As kehat datʔada-r

I.ERG letter.SG.ABS tear-NMLZ

‘Me tearing of the letter’

- (22a) As tsunga kehat datʔada-yt-inera.

I.ERG she.LOC letter.SG.ABS tore-CAUS-PAST

‘I made her tear the letter.’

- (22b) As tsunga kehat datʔada-yt-(a)r

I.ERG she.LOC letter.SG.ABS tore-CAUS-NMLZ

‘Me making her tear the letter’

These pairs of examples show how valency is retained in action nominals. In (21a-b), we can see the derivation of an action nominal *datʔadar* ‘tearing’ from a verb *datʔiynera* ‘tore’. In (22a-b), the action nominal *datʔadaytar* ‘making someone to tear’ in (22b) is derived from a corresponding verb in causative, *datʔadaytinera* ‘made someone to tear’. Apart from the morphological distinction between the nominals derived from non-causative versus causative verbs, there is also a syntactic distinction. The verb *datʔiynera* ‘tore’ in (21a) is transitive, i.e. it takes two arguments, a subject *as* ‘I’ and an indirect object *kehat* ‘letter’; in (21b) the action nominal *datʔadar* ‘tearing’ also takes two arguments, a subject *as* ‘I’ and an indirect object *kehat* ‘letter’. In (22a-b) however, the number of arguments changes under the effect of the causative construction, so the verb in (22a) *datʔadaytinera* ‘made someone to tear’ becomes ditransitive, taking three arguments, a subject *as* ‘I’, a direct object *kehat* ‘letter’ and a causee object *tsunga* ‘her’. The same pattern can be observed in the example with the action nominal in (22b), *datʔadaytar* ‘making someone to tear’ which is derived from the causative verb *datʔadaytinera* ‘made someone to tear’; the action nominal takes the same three arguments, a subject *as* ‘I’, an indirect object *kehat* ‘letter’ and a causee object *tsunga* ‘her’. The examples in (21a-b)-(22a-b) illustrate this retention of a verb’s valency under nominalization only in this type of nominals but it holds across other action nominals as well.

Now let us have a look at agentive nominals:

(23a) Iza shkol-e v-ahara.
he.ABS school.SG-LOC CL1-went
‘He went to school.’

(23b) [Shkol-e v-ahna-rg] v-u iza.
school.SG-LOC CL1-going.NMLZ CL1-is he.ABS
‘He is the one who went to school.’

(24a) Iza shkol-e v-ahi-yt-ira as.
he.ABS school.SG-LOC CL1-go-CAUS-PAST I.ERG

‘I sent him to school.’ (lit. ‘I made him to go to school.’)

(24b) Iza [shkol-e v-ahi-yt-ina-rg] v-u.
he.ABS school.SG-LOC CL1-go-CAUS-PAST-NMLZ CL1-is

‘He is the one whom I sent to school.’ (lit. ‘I made him to go to school.’)

In (23a) we can observe a transitive verb *vahara* ‘went’ which takes one argument, the subject *iza* ‘he’. In (23b) there is an agentive nominal *vahnarg* ‘the one who went’, which is derived from the verb *vahara* ‘went’. Unlike action nominals show, agentive nominals show some differences from the verbs they are derived from in terms of valency. Here we are dealing with a different type of clause, as agentive nominal may only occur in non-headed relative clauses. So *vahnarg* ‘the one who went’ takes no arguments. In the next pair of examples, the *vahara* ‘went’ is changed into causative *vahiytira* ‘made to go’. As a result, its valency changes and it takes two arguments, *iza* ‘he’ which is demoted from its original function of a subject to causee object and a new subject as ‘I’ is introduced. On the contrary, in (24b) the agentive nominal *vahiytinarg* ‘the one who is made to go’ which is contained in a relative clause similar to the agentive nominal *vahnarg* ‘the one who went’ takes no arguments.

Now let us move on to the discussion of different types of nominalizations found in Chechen taking a closer look at their similarities and differences, what particular types of clause they appear in and also whether a particular type of nominalization can be used in a particular type of clause or whether they can occur in any clause where other types of nominalizations can be found.

6.3 Types of nominalization in Chechen: action and agentive nominals

The nominalizer suffix *-r* is the most productive suffix which forms several different types of nominalizations, from nominal which resemble ordinary nouns to action nominals which demonstrate both nominal and verbal features. This section discusses each type in detail.

The *-r* nominalization is formed from an infinitive stem of a verb which ends in *-a(-aⁿ)* and a nominalizer suffix *-r* which gets attached to the infinitive stem. Consider the following examples of nominalizations formed from the verb *hatta* ‘ask’ and *desha* ‘study’:

- (25) Student-as h’eharhochunga hatta-r delira.
student lecturer question-NMLZ.ABS asked
‘A student asked the lecturer a question.’
- (26) [Student-as shega iza hatta-r] tsa diyzira h’eharhochunna.
student him it asking-NMLZ.ABS not liked lecturer
‘The lecturer didn’t like student’s asking him a question.’
- (27) [Sayn berashna diytsa-r diytsira as.
my children story-NMLZ. told I
‘I told a story to my children.’
- (28) Berash shayga diytsarsh diytsa-r-e chog1a satuysu.
children them stories telling-NMLZ-LOC very hope
‘Children always look forward for having told the stories.’

In the first two examples, we observe the nominalization *hattar*. Although these two words are identical, they show some striking differences. The nominalization in the first sentence can be referred to as a true deverbal noun. It has all the features that nouns typically have, such as number, case and belongs to a gender class. In this example, the nominalization *hattar* ‘question’ is singular, marked with absolutive and belongs to the class 3. Similarly, it can appear in plural and some other case, as the following example shows:

- (29) Student-in hatta-r-sh-na jop delira h’eharho-cho.
student.SG-GEN questions-NMLZ-PL-DAT answer.ABS gave lecturer.SG-ERG
‘The lecturer answered the students’ questions.’

Here the nominalization *hattarshna* ‘questions’ is marked with plural and appears in the dative case. In (26), we can observe an action nominal, seemingly the same nominalization, as in (25), however demonstrating different features, i.e., along with some nominal features it shows

verbal features, such as taking complements as well as assigning case to them. In this particular example, from the nominal features this type of nominalization has case, and here it is marked with absolutive similar to the nominalization in (25). However, it can never be pluralized and does not show any marking of a noun gender class, as shown in the following example:

- (30) *Student-as shega iza hatta-r-sh tsa diyzira h'eharhochunna.
student.SG-ERG him it asking-NMLZ-PL not liked lecturer
'The lecturer didn't like student's asking him a question.'

With regards to verbal features, it takes the direct object *iza* 'it' as its argument. The examples (27) and (28) show another nominalization *diytsar* which also shows different behaviour in the two examples. In (27) we can observe that the nominalization has only nominal features being marked with singular, absolutive case and class 3, whereas in (28) the nominalized form it also displays verbal features: it takes arguments such as direct object *diytsarsh* 'stories' and indirect object *shayga* 'them'. This example shows how these two types of *r* nominalizations differ from each other. In this example, we can observe that one type of nominalization co-occurs with another type, i.e. the nominalization *diytsar* 'telling' takes another nominalization *diytsarsh* 'stories' as a direct object. This example demonstrates that deverbal nouns resemble more typical nouns as opposed to gerund-like nominals which resemble verbs.

As these two pairs of examples showed, the *-r* nominalization is of two major types, action nominals which are formed from verbs and show both nominal and verbal features as opposed to deverbal nouns which are also clearly formed from verbs but only show nominal features without exhibiting any verbal properties.

A second type of nominalization in Chechen is formed by the suffix *-m* which is attached to the infinitival form of a verb. Consider the following examples:

- (31) Shen detsa a, nenatsa a
she.GEN father.INSTR CONJ mother.INSTR CONJ
chogla lara-m b-u tsunan.
very respect-NMLZ.ABS.SG CL6-is she.GEN
'She respects her parents a lot.'
- (32) Shen laa-m-tsa ben h'umma a tsa do tso.
she.GEN want-NMLZ.INSTR only nothing.ABS CONJ not do she.ABS
'She doesn't do anything against her will.'

In (31) and (32) *laram* 'respect' and *laamtsa* 'willingness' are deverbal nouns. They are formed by a combination of infinitival verb forms *lara* 'to respect' and *laa* 'to want' and the nominalizer suffix *-m*. In this regard they look similar to the *-r* nominalizations; however, unlike them the *-m* nominalizations more resemble nouns. They can be marked with case, as *laram* in (31) is marked with absolutive and *laamtsa* in (32) is marked with instrumental. Similar to nouns they can be grouped into a particular gender class, so *laram* 'respect' and *laamtsa* 'willingness' both belong to the same class. The gender class of deverbal noun *laram* is marked on the verb *b-u* 'is' (a noun gender class is typically marked on a class verb in Chechen, see section 1.3.6 for more details). The gender class of *laamtsa* is not marked on a verb as it is part of a postpositional phrase *shen laamtsa ben* 'only with her will' so there is no predicate. From the typical properties, that nouns have, these deverbal nouns lack number. The following examples show that the sentences are ungrammatical when the deverbal nouns are pluralised:

- (33) *Shen detsa a, nenatsa a
she.GEN father.INSTR CONJ mother.INSTR CONJ
chogla lara-m-(a)sh b-u tsunan.
very respect-NMLZ.ABS.PL CL5-is she.GEN
('She has a great respect for the parents.')
- (34) *Shen laa-m-(a)sh-tsa ben h'umma a tsa do tso.

she.GEN want-NMLZ-PL-INSTR only nothing.ABS CONJ not do she.ABS
(‘She doesn’t do anything unless she wants to do so.’)

However, it should be added that some of the forms are undergoing grammaticalization process, as in some instances some of these nominalizations can occur in plural. The word *laam* ‘willingness’ is one of these but only when it is in the absolutive case, as shown in (35). When marked with a different case the sentence does not sound grammatical, as shown in (34) above when inflected with instrumental.

(35) Laa-m-(a)sh dukkha hulu.
will-NMLZ-PL.ABS much happen
‘There are many things that one can wish for.’
(lit. ‘There are many things that we wish for.’)

The nominalizer suffix *-m* is less productive as compared to nominalizer suffix *-r*; the former makes only one type of nominalization, noun-like nominals, while the latter forms noun-like nominalisations as well as gerund-like nominalizations. The following examples contains both *r* and *m* nominalizations:

(36) [Shega haa-m hila-r-e] ho’jush vara iza.
he.LOC know-NMLZ.ABS happen-NMLZ-LOC wait was he
‘He was waiting for news.’

Both *haam* ‘news’ and *hilare* are formed with the nominalizer suffixes *-m* and *-r*. However, as pointed out in an earlier section *-m* nominalizations more resemble nouns whereas in *-r* nominalizations we have a combination of both nominal and verbal features. This is further confirmed by their syntactic position within a clause. These nominalizations occur within a complement (in square brackets) and as is clear from the example (36), the *-m* nominalization *haam* ‘news’ occupies a typical position of a noun (a direct object in this case) while the *-r* nominalization *hilare* ‘happening’ is in a typical position of a verb.

6.4 Agentive nominals

The third type of nominalization in Chechen is the *-rg* nominalizations. Its formation is similar to that of *-m* and *-r* nominalizations; more specifically it is a combination of a verb stem plus a nominalizer suffix *-rg*. The verb stem in this type of nominalization is typically in the past tense but it can also be in the present or future, as shown in examples later in this chapter. Consider the following examples:

(37) Berash [shayga da-nanas a'lla-rg] dan deza.
 children.ABS they.LOC father-mother.ERG say-NMLZ.ABS do should
 ‘Children should listen to their parents.’

(38) [Tso d-ina-rg] d-okkha glalat d-ara.
 s/he.ERG CL3-do-NMLZ.ABS CL3-big mistake.ABS CL3-was
 ‘What he did was a big mistake.’

In (37) the nominalization *a'llarg* ‘what is said’ is formed with the verb in the past tense *a'lla* ‘said’, with and the nominalizer suffix *-rg*. In (38) the nominalization *dinarg* ‘what is done’ is formed with the verb stem *dina* ‘did’ which is the past form of the verb *daⁿ* ‘to do’ and the nominalizer suffix *-rg*. This type of nominalization has both nominal and verbal features; in terms of its nominal properties, it bears case markers. In both examples (37)-(38), the nominalizations are marked with absolutive. From the verbal features, agentive nominals show agreement in noun class with their arguments (if they are formed from the class verbs which agree with their arguments as opposed to non-class verbs). Nouns in Chechen never bear gender class markers, instead verbs are inflected with a prefix which shows which gender class the respective noun belongs to (see section 1.3.6 for more details on gender class marking in Chechen). The nominalization *dinarg* ‘what is done’ is formed from the class verb *daⁿ* ‘to do’, therefore it is marked with class 3 marker *-d* which the direct object *glalat* ‘mistake’ belongs to. We can also observe that the same marker appears on the main verb *dara* ‘was’ as well as the adjective *dokkha* ‘big’. The nominalization *a'llarg*, on the other hand, is formed from a

non-class verb *ala* ‘to say’, thus is not marked for a noun class. From other verbal properties that agentive nominals show is that they can never be marked with plural unlike *-m* nominalizations and *-r* nominalizations. The following examples are illustrative:

- (39) *Berash shayg da-nanas a'lla-r-sh dan deza.
children.ABS they.LOC father-mother.ERG said.PAST-NMLZ do should
‘Children should listen to their parents.’
- (40) *Tso d-ina-r-sh d-okkha g1alat d-ara.
s/he.ERG CL3-do.PAST-NMLZ CL3-big mistake.ABS CL3-was
‘He made a big mistake.’

As the examples show, it is impossible for this type of nominalizations to occur in plural; the forms *a'llarsh* and *dinarsh* are simply ungrammatical.

Unlike other types of nominals in Chechen, *-rg* nominals may be formed from tensed verbs, including present, past and future tenses. The following examples are illustrative:

- (41) Tso d-ina-rg d-okkha g1alat d-ara.
s/he.ERG CL3-do.PAST-NMLZ CL3-big mistake.ABS CL3-was
‘He made a big mistake.’
- (42) Tso d-eshde-rg d-okkha g1alat d-u.
s/he.ERG CL3-do.PRTC-NMLZ CL3-big mistake.ABS CL3-is
‘He is making a big mistake.’
- (43) Tso d-iyarde-rg d-okkha g1alat d-u.
s/he.ERG CL3-do.FUT-NMLZ CL3-big mistake.ABS CL3-is
‘He will make a big mistake.’

So, here we see that the sentences in (41)-(43) are identical with the only difference of being formed with nominalizations of different tense which is evident from English translation.

6.5 Nominalized vs main clauses

This section discusses the characteristics of nominalized clauses compared to main clauses, i.e. what they have in common and what differentiates them. First there follows the discussion of similarities between these two different types of clause.

Before embarking on the comparison let us have a look at general features of nominalized clause. As a type of subordinate clause, nominalized clauses have some features of their own which make them distinct. This will become clearer when we see examples later as the discussion proceeds.

The typical position of a nominalized clause is preceding the main clause. This is the tendency that is observed across all subordinate clauses in Chechen.

- (44) [Ah dosh dala-r] dits ma delah.
 you.ERG word.SG.ABS give-NMLZ forget not do
 ‘Don’t forget that you promised it to me.’

The nominalized clause (in square brackets) appears immediately preceding the main clause.

However, nominalized clauses can appear following the main clause under certain pragmatic conditions.

- (45) Dits ma delah [ah dosh dala-r].
 forget not do you.ERG word.SG.ABS give-NMLZ
 ‘Don’t forget that you promised it to me.’

When comparing the internal structure of action nominal constructions with that of finite clauses, Koptjevskaya-Tamm (1993: 13) highlights that it is not the case that these two constructions have a similar number of arguments due to the reason that in many languages the number of action nominals’ arguments are reduced. The author mentions three cases when the semantic arguments of action nominals cannot be expressed: firstly, when it is not possible for an argument to be expressed or some other argument is expressed instead, secondly, when the action argument is used in a way which makes it impossible for a semantic argument to be expressed, and lastly, in a scenario when it is possible for an argument to be expressed,

however, the choice is made towards omitting it ‘in accordance with the communicative goal of the sentence’. To illustrate this, the author provides examples from Russian:

- (46) Raboci-e napolnjaj-ut bassejn vod-oj.
worker-PL.NOM fill-PRES.3PL swimming.pool:ACC water-INSTR
'The workers are filling the swimming-pool with water.'

(Koptjevskaya-Tamm 1993: 13)

In this sentence the verb takes three arguments, however in the corresponding action nominal construction, it is impossible for all of the three arguments to be expressed, one of the arguments from *rabochie* ‘workers’ or *vodoj* ‘with water’ has to be omitted, as shown in the following examples:

- (47) Napoln-enie bassejn-a vod-oj
fill-NMLZ swimming.pool-GEN water-INSTR
'the filling of the swimming-pool with water'

- (48) Napoln-enie bassejn-a raboci-mi
fill-NMLZ swimming.pool-GEN worker-INSTR.PL
'the filling of the swimming-pool by the workers'

(Koptjevskaya-Tamm 1993: 13)

However, this is not the case for all languages, for instance, in Hungarian both omitting of the arguments as well as expressing them all is possible (Koptjevskaya-Tamm 1993).

In Chechen too both variants are possible, as shown in the following examples:

- (49) Hitsa basseyn h'alayuzar

- water.INSTR swimming.pool.ABS fill.NMLZ
'the filling of the swimming pool with water'
- (50) Belhalosha basseyh h'alayuzar
worker.PL.GEN swimming.pool.ABS fill.NMLZ
'the filling of the swimming pool by the workers'
- (51) Belhalosha basseyh hitsa h'alayuzar
worker.PL.GEN swimming.pool.ABS water.INSTR fill.NMLZ
'the filling of the swimming pool with water by the workers'.

The argument of the action nominal cannot be expressed as it coincides with the argument of the main clause.

- (52) Jayna desha-r tsa deza tsunna.
book.SG.ABS read-NMLZ not like he.DAT
'He doesn't like reading books.'

Here we can observe that the subject *tsunna* 'he' of the main verb *tsa deza* 'doesn't like' is the same for the action nominal *desha-r* 'reading', so it cannot be expressed.

Nominalized clauses show similarities to finite clauses in terms of allowing the same case systems such as absolutive, ergative or dative or locative. First let us look at the first three systems, as they all have an identical structure:

Absolutive

- (53) Iza ts1era ya'lla hila-r hiira tsunna.
she.ABS home CL2-away have-NMLZ.ABS know she.DAT
'She noticed that she was away from home.'

Ergative

- (54) As tsunna sovg1at dala-r-o chlog1a samuk1da'kkhira tsunan.
I.ERG she.DAT present.SG.ASB give-NMLZ-ERG very happy.made she.GEN
'She was very happy because I gave her a present.'
(lit. 'Me giving her a present made her very happy.')

Dative

(55) Suna iza haa-r tsa diyzira tsunna.

I.DAT it.SG.ABS know-NMLZ not like she.DAT

‘She didn’t like that I learnt about it.’

In case with the locative, we observe a slight difference in the formation of the nominalization, i.e. the -r nominalization has to be accompanied with the verb *dala* ‘to be able’.

(56) So’ga iza ala-dala-r dukkha humaneh do’zna du.

I.LOC it.ABS say-be.able-NMLZ many thing.SG.LOC depend is

‘Whether I am able to say it or not depends on many things.’

(‘My ability to say it depends on many things.’)

(57) Ch1og1a tamashiyna dara tsunga i examen d1a-yala-yala-r.

very strange was he.LOC that exam.SG.ABS PRVB-give-be.able-NMLZ

‘It was very strange that he was able to pass that exam.’

(lit. ‘His ability to pass that exam seemed very strange.’)

6.6 Nominalizations in relative and complement clauses

In this section we discuss the distribution of nominalized clause in Chechen. Earlier in this chapter we observed nominalizations forming complement clauses, so in this section I look at the nominalizations in relative clauses. Although nominalizations are a type of complement clause, one type of these constructions can form relative clauses, more specifically, *-rg* nominalizations. In fact, as we see later, this is the only environment where this type of nominalization is found in Chechen.

Consider the following example of a relative clause from Chechen:

(58) [Suna selhana ginay-olu] yo1 y-u iza.

I.DAT yesterday see.CL2-PRTC girl.ABS CL2-is she.ABS

‘This is the girl I saw yesterday.’

Here is a relative clause which is formed with the use of a participle verb *ginayolu* ‘which I saw’; it modifies its head noun *yo1* ‘girl’. This is an example of a typical Chechen relative clause and they are almost always formed with the participial verbs, and most importantly they contain a head which they modify. Nominalizations do not occur in typical headed relative clauses, as shown in the following example:

(59) *[Suna selhana gina-rg] yo1 y-u iza.

I.DAT yesterday see.NMLZ girl.ABS CL2-is she.ABS

(‘This is the girl I saw yesterday.’) (lit. ‘The girl I saw yesterday, the girl is.’)

Here we attempted to form a typical relative clause with a nominalized verb *ginarg* which yielded an ungrammatical result.

The type of relative clause where nominalizations occur is non-headed relative clauses.

Consider the following examples:

(60) [Suna selhana gina-rg] y-u iza.

I.DAT yesterday see.NMLZ CL2-is she.ABS

‘She is the one I saw yesterday.’

(61) Tskʔa a d-itslur d-ats suna [ah d-ina-rg].

never CONJ CL3-forget.NON-FIN CL3-not I.DAT you.ERG CL3-did-NMLZ

‘I will never forget what you did.’

(62) [Ah a’lla-rg] yuha a alah.

you. ERG say-NMLZ again CONJ say.IMPER

‘Could you repeat what you have just said?’

(63) [London-eh 1ash-v-e-rg] v-u iza.

London-LOC live-CL1-is-NMLZ CL1-is he.ABS

‘He is the one who lives in London.’

In all these instances we can observe that the headless relative clauses (in brackets) are formed with the use of nominalizations and main clauses lack the head nouns. For instance, in (60) the relative clause *suna selhana ginarg* ‘the one I saw yesterday’ contains the nominal *ginarg*

which roughly translates as ‘the seen one’. The nominalization *ginarg* is formed with the use of the verb base in present perfect and the nominalization suffix *-rg*.

The position of the nominalized clause within the sentence is quite flexible; it is possible for the nominalized clause to appear following the main clause with no change to the meaning, as shown in the following example:

- (64) Iza y-u [suna selhana gina-rg].
 she.ABS CL2-is I.DAT yesterday see.NMLZ
 ‘She is the one I saw yesterday.’

The relative clause here follows the main clause. The only difference from the sentence in the example above being the word order in the main clause. Now, the order of the relative in relation to main clause as well as word order within the clause is typical of other subordinate clauses in Chechen where they tend to occur in a sentence initial position, and when following the main clause, the latter will always undergo change in word order.

6.7 Nominalizations which are formed from adjectives

Apart from being formed from verbs, some nominalizations can be formed from adjectives in Chechen. These are formed by the addition of suffix *-nig/-narg* and *-a'lla/-lla* to the adjective stem. First consider the examples of nominals derived from adjectives with the use of *-nig/-narg* suffixes:

- (65) K1ayn bos b-olu koch hazaheta tsunna
 white.ADJ colour.SG.ABS CL6-is shirt.ABS.SG like he.DAT
 ‘He likes the white shirt.’
- (67) K1ay-nig hazaheta tsunna.
 white-NMLZ like he.DAT
 ‘He likes the white one.’
- (68) K1ayn bos bolu kucham(a)-sh-na reza tsa hilira iza.
 white.ADJ colour.SG.ABS CL6-is shirt-PL-DAT agree not was he.ABS
 ‘He didn’t like the white shirts.’
- (69) K1aynchar-na reza tsa hilira iza.

- one.which.is.white.NMLZ-DAT agree not was he.ABS
'He didn't like the white ones.'
- (70) Uggare a g1oleh yaahuma hashan yala eza.
most CONJ best.ADJ food.ABS guest.DAT give should
'The guest should be served the best food.'
- (71) Uggare a g1oleh-nig hashan yala eza.
most CONJ one.which.is.best-NMLZ guest.DAT give should
'The guest should be served the best one.'

In these pairs of examples, we can observe that adjectives and nominalizations which are formed from the adjectives can be used in sentences interchangeably. Similar to nominalizations formed from verbs, these nominalizations demonstrate some nominal features such as case and number. For instance, the nominalization *klaynig* 'the white one' is in singular absolutive while in the second pair of examples this nominalization is in dative plural, *klaycharna* 'to the white ones' and *g1olehnig* 'the best one' in the third pair of examples is inflected with singular absolutive.

Now let us look at examples of nominals formed with the *-a'lla/-lla* suffixes:

- (72) Bo'rsha stag mayra hila v-eza
man.ABS.SG courageous should CL1-is
'A man should be courageous.'
- (73) Bo'rsha stag-eh mayra-lla hila y-eza.
man courage is should
'A man should have courage.'
- (74) Dukkha nahana o'zda hilar hiyra d-u tahana.
many people modest is strange is today
'For many, modesty is far too strange nowadays.'
- (75) Dukkha nahana o'zdang-a'lla hiyra y-u tahana.
many people modesty strange is today
'For many, modesty is far too strange nowadays.'

Similar to nominals formed with *-nig/-narg* suffixes, *-alla/-lla* nominals are found in the same environment as the adjectives they were derived from. In relation to nominal features, these

include case and gender class. For instance, both *mayralla* ‘courage’ and *o’zdangalla* ‘modesty’ in (73) and (75) respectively are marked with absolutive and class 2, which is marked on their respective auxiliary verbs, *y-eza* ‘should’ and *y-u* ‘is’.

However, unlike *-nig/-narg* nominals, nominals formed with *-alla/-lla* do not show number, as shown in (76) and (77), with few exceptions, as (78) illustrates:

(76) *Bo’rsha stag-eh mayra-lla-sh hila y-eza.

man courage is should

‘A man should have courage.’

(77) *Dukkha nahana o’zdang-alla-sh hiyra y-u tahana.

many people modesty strange is today

‘For many, modesty is far too strange nowadays.’

(78) Chog1a kura-lla-sh y-ira tso.

very arrogance-NMLZ-PL CL2-made she

‘She was showing her arrogance.’

As the examples show, the nominalizations *mayralla* ‘courage’ and *o’zdangalla* ‘modesty’ are marked with plural which yelled the sentences ungrammatical. In (78) however, the nominalization of a similar type *kuralla* ‘pride’ is inflected with plural and the sentence is perfectly grammatical.

As it was mentioned earlier, this chapter is primarily concerned with the nominalizations which are formed from verbs, therefore this brief section suffices for the purposes of this discussion.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at offering a description of nominalizations in Chechen. The chapter discussed nominalizations in general as well as the derivational tactics used to form nominalizations cross-linguistically as well as their syntactic behaviour. And, as the central

focus of the chapter, the nominalizations in Chechen were looked at, including their formation and distribution, the types of nominalizations found in Chechen focusing on action nominal constructions, which are more frequently used in the language.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was twofold; first, to offer a description of different types of subordinate clause which are found in Chechen, more specifically complement, adverbial and relative clauses; secondly, and more importantly, this study was aimed at offering a description of nominalizations, one of the uninvestigated areas in the language, and as a result filling the gap in the existing description of Chechen grammar.

In chapter 1, I introduced the basic grammatical details about Chechen, including nominal and verbal categories, dependent-marking and word order, valency-changing processes as well as some brief description of related languages, Ingush and Batsbi. It also introduced the topic of nominalizations in Chechen.

Chapter 3 was aimed at offering a general overview of subordination in Chechen as well as a briefly introducing the other types of clause-linking, in particular coordination and co-subordination. This chapter also offered a brief overview of subordinate clauses, namely complement, adverbial and relative clauses. A description of verbal morphology in Chechen is also included in the chapter, as Chechen exploits various verb forms for the purposes of subordination.

Chapter 3 contained a description of complement clauses in Chechen. Apart from various types of complement clause, Chechen also one complementation strategy, i.e.

nominalization. There are two main characteristics which are present in complement clauses in Chechen, more specifically, they can be marked with some kind of subordinating marker or have no markers. These mechanisms are also present in other languages. The focus of this chapter was on offering a detailed description of complement clause types and complement-taking verbs in Chechen. Complement-taking verbs take a particular type of complement clause according to the characteristics that are associated with it.

Chapter 4 offered a description of adverbial clauses in Chechen. Different types of adverbial clause were described, including adverbial clauses of manner, conditional as well as temporal, purpose and reason clauses. The adverbial clauses are formed with a non-finite form of a verb - the converb. Another characteristic of this type of subordinate clause is that it contains various conjunctions for introducing adverbial clauses.

Chapter 5 was an overview of relative clauses in Chechen. As we observed, Chechen demonstrates few types of relative clause, including restrictive relative clauses, the most commonly occurring clause type, non-restrictive relative clauses, headless relative clauses and non-embedded relative clauses. As well, we looked at different processes involved in the formation of relative clauses. Although some of the processes were not specific to relative clauses, for example the typical SOV word order or participial and other non-finite verb forms, some are only found in relative clauses, such as a form of auxiliary 'be', which is specific to relative clauses.

Chapter 6 was aimed at offering a description of nominalizations in Chechen. I looked at nominalizations in general, which derivational strategies are used for forming nominalizations cross-linguistically as well as their syntactic behaviour. Then I discussed the nominalizations in Chechen, how they are formed and distributed, what different types are found in the language, focusing on action nominals and action nominal constructions.

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